





The Complete Diaries  
of Theodor Herzl



The Complete Dances  
of Theodor Hertz





*The Complete Diaries of*  
THEODOR HERZL

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## Book Eleven

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April 9, Vienna

I came to draft the following letter to Lord Rothschild in a peculiar way. Today I saw the new work of an obviously gifted writer whom I had hitherto refused to read because some time ago he had tried to get into the *N. Fr. Pr.* through the back door and by repulsive machinations, and to wangle my support by making friends with my late brother-in-law. This doesn't mean that he has no talent, and maybe I am unfair to his work, even though I am just toward him. So I presented the question to myself how the man would have had to proceed in order to win me, who have helped and am helping so many young people without pull. He would have had to entrust himself to my loyalty in an open and above-board manner.

And suddenly, by a leap of thought, it came to my mind that perhaps I, too, blundered by having Lady Battersea and others intervene between Lord Rothschild and myself.

Therefore I am writing him, but, by way of precaution, a dreadful letter which would defame him if he should choose to make use of it against me.

Milord:

My name is probably familiar to you from the Zionist movement to which the newspapers have given sufficient attention. I am writing you in German, because I don't express myself so fluently in English and have reason to assume that you understand German well.

It would be useful if I had a conference with you, and I beg you to give me an opportunity for one in London. I am prepared to come there for this purpose. I won't deny that this request for a conference is hard for me, because I have been frequently and grossly attacked by people who are on your side. But if I consider how many poor women's and children's tears could be dried, to how many unfortunates of our people some relief could be brought, I will gladly humble myself.

Your position, Milord, is a peculiar, in fact, a virtually unique one. I confess that I did not know this before. I took you only for a



rich man. But in the course of the years I have come to know your power. I believe that outside of yourself only few people have such a knowledge of your power as I have.

April 13, Vienna

Mahmud Nedim telephoned me to say that he had to speak with me.

Yesterday evening I went to see him, and he read me a letter from Tahsin ordering, on the Sultan's instructions, that the £200 I had donated to the Hejaz Railroad be returned to me.

I explained the matter to Mahmud Nedim, saying that this was the £200 which the Sultan had given to me and which I didn't want to keep. However, the Sultan obviously wanted me to keep it. Now I would give it to the poor.

Tomorrow Mahmud Nedim will come to my home and bring me the money. I shall donate it to our causes.

\* \* \*

Today I am writing Vámbéry about it, complaining about his Tahsin.

April 30, Vienna

Today I finished my novel *Altneuland*.

May 3, Vienna

Letter to the Sultan:\*

Sire:

I have the honor to submit the following proposal to Y.I.M.'s lofty wisdom.

I thought I foresaw a certain difficulty for the government in the fact that the young people of Turkey who go abroad for their

\* In French in the original.

higher education are sometimes led astray by bad example and unresistingly accept revolutionary ideas.

The dilemma seems to present itself like this: either not to furnish them advanced scientific training—or expose them to all the dangers of political seduction.

Nevertheless, a way out can be found, and I humbly permit myself to submit it to Y.I.M.'s judgment.

We Jews play a certain role in university life all over the world. The universities of all countries number Jews among their professors, and we have great scholars in all fields of learning.

We could create a Jewish University in Y.I.M.'s Empire, for example in Jerusalem.

The Ottoman students would no longer need to go abroad. They would stay in the country and would obtain the most advanced scientific training without ceasing to be under the laws of their country.

The Jewish University should bring together all the scholarly qualities of the best universities, technical schools, and schools of agriculture. The institution will offer nothing unless it is of the very first rank. Only then can it render real service to scholarship, to the students, and to the country.

I am not going into detail about this plan as long as I don't know whether Y.I.M. is pleased to take an interest in it.

I hope that this proposal will in no way give offense and that it will at least demonstrate my sincere devotion.

I am Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

May 3, Vienna

Covering letter to Ibrahim:\*

Your Excellency:

The enclosed letter will, I believe, once again show H.I.M. my desire to be of service to him.

\* In French in the original.



The execution of the project would require no financial sacrifices on the part of the Imperial govt.

If H.I.M. wishes to hear my explanation, I can come to Constantinople around Pentecost.

Hoping you are in good health, I beg Your Excellency to accept the assurances of my high esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

May 3, 1902

\* \* \*

Letter to Izzet:\*

Your Excellency:

I fear that I have been a bit worked against and a bit forgotten.

But I believe that I have found a method of replying to those who may present me in an unfavorable light. The method is simply to offer a great service to H.I.M. This is to eradicate the unhealthy spirit.

In a word: to create a Jewish university, embracing all the branches of scholarship in their highest and most modern form—to create this model university in your country! The expenses will present no difficulties.

What do you think of it? If H.I.M. wishes to summon me, we could at the same time chat about one thing and another.

Kindly accept the assurances of my high esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

May 3, 1902

I am also writing Vámbéry the substance of the letter.

May 4, on the train between Dresden and Berlin

Letter to Court-Marshal Eulenburg or the Adjutant-General on duty:

\* In French in the original.

Your Excellency:

May I be permitted to recall myself to mind from Constantinople and Jerusalem (1898)? I arrived here today and will stay at the Palace Hotel until Tuesday or Wednesday.

H.M. the Kaiser may also still remember me and the Zionist movement in which he was interested at that time.

A few weeks ago I was in Constantinople again on invitation of H.M. the Sultan.

I would be very happy if I might have the honor of being received in audience by H.M. the Kaiser in order to give an oral report on some things that could be of value to German politics as well.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect and devotion,

Dr. Th. H.

May 14, Vienna

The Kaiser sent me word through Court-Marshal Eulenburg that he was sorry, but he had to go to Strassburg.

Bülow sent his card to my hotel.

I spoke with a director of the Deutsche Bank through which we should like to buy the Deutsche Palästina-Bank. We are beginning to get into more solid financial circles, but are still a bit comical.

I made the acquaintance of First Lieutenant, ret., Said Ruete, a grandson of the Sultan of Zanzibar, currently an official of the Deutsche Bank. I liked his project of planting cotton in Mesopotamia. I shall hire him.

I also met Dr. Franz Oppenheimer, the cooperative colonies man, and liked him very well too.

Greenberg telephoned me at Berlin to say that the *Alien Commission*\* of Parliament was going to summon me as a witness. However, by today, a week later, nothing has come.

\* In English in the original.



I think that Rothschild and the Anglo-Jewish people have worked against it with might and main.

\* \* \*

Wellisch reports under the date of the 10th that Izzet has told him of a letter to me. They might want to request a proposal for the consolidation of the debt from me.

*Aspettiamo* [Let us wait]! I think it is a delusion.

They will send for me a few more times so as to play me off against other proponents.

May 18, Vienna

Through Wellisch I received today the following *inénarrable* [unspeakable] letter:\*

Constantinople, May 12, 1902

Dear Sir:

Your letter concerning a request for the creation of an Israilite University in Jerusalem has been submitted at the foot of the Throne.

The loyalty and the devotion of the Israilites toward His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, my August Master, and their sympathy for his Empire are an incontestable truth. As the Imperial Government is at this moment occupied with several projects aiming at the amelioration of the financial situation of the Treasury and of procuring new resources for it, the help of the Israilite financiers may be useful for facilitating the Treasury's task. For the purpose of being able usefully to solicit benefits for the Imperial Government, I request you, on Sovereign orders, to submit at the foot of

\* Translator's Note: In reproducing this letter in the original French, Herzl notes that he is retaining its faulty orthography.

the Throne a list of the services the financiers in question can render in this connection for the benefit of the State.

Kindly accept the assurance of my complete regard.

A. Izzet.

May 18, Vienna

Letter to Izzet:\*

Your Excellency:

I have received the letter which you have done me the honor of addressing to me on Imperial orders.

First of all, I beg you to be kind enough to place at the foot of the Throne the acknowledgment of my unalterable devotion which prompts me to act and to seek projects useful to your august master.

But all these matters—the university as well as the financial affairs—can be treated well only orally.

If, then, H.I.M. the Sultan desires to hear my projects, I am ready to come to Constantinople next week. This date is suggested because I have to go to London in the month of June.

The project of a university at Jerusalem could serve as a screen for other matters, for H.M.'s enemies would impose shackles on the execution of any known project for the amelioration of the present situation.

I shall therefore expect word by telegram.

It will, in any case, take me three or four days to put my affairs in order prior to my departure.

Kindly accept the assurance of my high esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

P.S. If I were not invited to come now, it would be almost impossible for me to come before the autumn.

\* In French in the original.



Your Excellency:

The enclosed letter is intended to be laid at the foot of the throne.

I have good things to tell, but I shall not come unless I am invited. I have been a bit offended by the fact that my modest present (the Arabic typewriter) has not been accepted.

If I am not called now, I believe that I would not be able to come before autumn, and that would be more time lost which could be used to render you services.

However, H.M. is the master, and as he decides so it will be.

Assuring Your Excellency of my sincere devotion,

Herzl.

May 18

Constantinople, May 23, 1902

My Dear Doctor Herzl:

Pollak sent me word yesterday that I should call on him today. Today's message from Pollak, sent on orders, is that with consideration for the effort and expenses of the trip C. wants you to write him what is to be done.

He repeated the phrase I have underlined (which is incomprehensible to me, but must refer to a passage in your letter), and added that you should write and tell me all the things you can do; he particularly remarked that you should stress your ability to carry out the consolidation better than Rouvier.

If I may permit myself a comment on Pollak's communication, I feel obliged to remark that its nature is really meant to say that C. is still undecided and therefore is willing to have detailed proposals made to him. Moreover, I think I can tell from the instructions for you to write about all the things you can do that they want to give you to understand that you must make efforts to cause a summons to be issued.

The remark concerning the consolidation is probably meant to indicate that the main importance is attached to this.

Kindly permit me, dear doctor, the expression of my deepest respect.

Ever faithfully yours,  
Weber.

My telegraphic reply of May 27, Vienna:

Tell Pollak that I spare no pains on Cohn's matter and that trifling traveling expenses, for which I shall accept no reimbursement, aren't worth talking about. I consider writing pointless. Therefore, if I am not called to factory by end of week, I shall go to London for prolonged stay.

\* \* \*

Today (May 28, Vienna) I am wiring:

As supplement to yesterday's telegram please note that I intend to carry out the particularly desired transaction in a different way, one much more favorable for Cohn.

However, If I do not visit factory now, there is no point in writing at the moment, because then I cannot visit factory until autumn, and by then the market situation may be different, so that all proposals will take a different form.

Seff.

Constantinople, May 28, 1902

My Dear Doctor Herzl:

After I had shown him your telegram which arrived today, Pollak told me to write you the following: \*

"Accede to Leopold's desire and write that you are ready to make the consolidation under most advantageous conditions for the government, that you are ready to form a native syndicate for the

\* In French in the original.



exploitation of the mines, that you are ready to form a syndicate for the creation of a bank that could render great services to the government, and you will have an open door for entering."

He told me the foregoing after I had translated the telegram, whereupon I requested his permission to take down what he had told me in the adjoining room (there were three people with him). He agreed and I did so.

When I returned and read him what I had written, he approved of it and asked me if we had a telegraphic code. I answered that we had only few code words, which was why I was writing, but that I would announce the letter by telegram. Today, Pollak spoke incisively and with more warmth than usual; I had the impression that he would like to see you here now.

However, as we know, it's hard to tell when he is speaking sincerely.

Kindly permit me, dear doctor, the expression of my deepest respect.

Ever faithfully yours,  
Weber.

June 4, Paris

Again in Paris.

Now I am an aging and famous man.

The days of my youth, despite their spells of melancholy, were preferable.

\* \* \*

The success of inferior men is acceptable to the man of worth so long as he himself passes through the crowd unnoticed. But he feels offended by the success of the inferior if he himself has recognition. Fortunately, the latter case occurs infinitely seldom, or only in old age (Schopenhauer, Ibsen).

Sometimes it happens that a man of worth is active in various

fields. Then he is certain to be recognized only in the field that is not at the real center of his personality.

Thus, for example, I am in a field where I have accomplished next to nothing intellectually, but have merely displayed average political skill, such as is attainable by any horse-dealer, in a matter which is crystal-clear to anyone but a blockhead—in the Jewish Question I have become world-famous as a propagandist.

As a writer, particularly as a playwright, I am held to be nothing, less than nothing. People call me only a good journalist.

And yet I feel, I know, that I am or was a writer of great ability, one who simply didn't give his full measure because he became disgusted and discouraged.

June 4, Paris

Here I received the invitation of the *Royal Commission for Alien Immigration*,\* before whom I am to give *evidence*\* as a witness.\*

It means an encounter—fight or reconciliation—with Lord Rothschild, and is therefore of tremendous importance. I am instructing my faithful Greenberg and Cowen to arrange a meeting with R. for me prior to my examination.

June 6, Paris

Letter to Izzet:\*\*

Your Excellency:

Confirming my last telegram from Vienna, dated May 28 and addressed to the bearer of this letter, I have the honor of informing you that I am ready to devote myself to the question of the consolidation of the debt in accordance with the desire expressed by

\* In English in the original.

\*\* In French in the original.



H.I.M. the Sultan that the most advantageous conditions for the Imp. govt. be obtained. I am also prepared to have my friends set up a syndicate for the exploitation of the mines and the establishment of a new bank in Turkey, the administrative board of which will be composed in part of natives.

The services which we shall render and which H.I.M. in his lofty wisdom will appreciate will have to be the measure of the favors which he in his generosity will accord to the Jewish people.

From here I shall go to London in order to settle the terms of the project with my friends. I shall stay there till about the 25th of June, after which I hope to take a vacation. In the meantime, letters or telegrams may be addressed as follows:

Dr. Th. H.  
c/o Sir Francis Montefiore, Bart.,  
42 Upper Grosvenor St.  
London W.

Begging Y.E. to accept the assurance of my high esteem,

Yours devotedly,  
Dr. Th. H.

June 9, London

What I need now is the condensation of my vaporous organization—the liquefaction, as it were, of that mass of air called the Zionist Movement.

To that end I am pursuing the following paths:

1) By giving *evidence*\* before the Royal Commission whose *perplexity*\* caused by the horns of a dilemma I want to bring out: either a break with the glorious principle of free asylum, or leaving the native working class unprotected. My way out—if they ask for it—is the creation of a *Chartered Company*\* in Cyprus.

At the same time I shall make a semi-official attempt to establish

\* In English in the original.

contact with Lord R. He is furious with me—and this may be the psychological moment to make peace. When he was asked in the Commission why he boggled at my being called, he said that I was a demagogue, a *windbag*.\*

2) By trying to form a mining concern for the exploitation of the Turkish mines. I have already spoken with Zangwill and Cowen, and this evening I shall meet the *stockbroker*\* Myers at Zangwill's.

London

The night of the 9th to the 10th of June. At 3:00 a. m.

When I returned to the hotel after the theatre this evening, I found this wire from my wife:

Dad seriously ill. Come Vienna immediately.

That means death. I realized this from the very first moment.

What with inquiring about the next train, telegraphing and packing, two hours went by. The rest of the night will be harder to pass.

This book will have to bear the brunt of it. I believe that at all times I have been a devoted, grateful, and respectful son to my father, who has done infinitely much for me.

Having educated and supported me for such a long time, how much he went through with me, how he supported me and comforted me!

The travels on which I learned so much I owe to him, all of them.

Now, when he is closing his eyes, I am not at home.

I always hastened to tell my parents all agreeable news while it was still hot. How right I was in this; many things come too late.

\* In English in the original.



My dear one did not get to read the conclusion of my novel *Altneuland*.

How greatly I remain in his debt, although I have not been a bad son.

What a support he was to me all the time, what a counsellor!

He stood by my side like a tree. Now the tree is gone.

In view of what I have lost it is foolish for me to feel sorry that he hadn't learned that the day after tomorrow I was to have had a talk with Lord Rothschild that might have turned out to be decisive for Zionism.

Of course, that talk, as well as the testimony before the Royal Commission, is off now.

I don't believe in the "serious illness." They would have concealed that from me. Julie's telegram means death!

June 10, Hans' birthday

On the boat between Dover and Ostend.

Before my departure from London I received the doctor's telegram:

Father passed away after a stroke, suddenly and without pain.

I had secretly nursed a glimmer of hope that it was just an attack of pneumonia.

Now I gradually remember things about him, my dear one, golden one, good one.

I think that when you have an arm shot away, you don't feel it at first, then it hurts terribly, and then you forget.

June 11, on the Ostend Express, nearing Vienna

Now I shall soon be in Vienna where I shall have the pleasure of burying my father. Wolffsohn wanted to get on at Cologne and accompany me. I didn't let him. For he can't help me.

During these 29 hours I have been licking my paws like a run-over dog.

Have also made a decision. If my mother is willing, I shall move to London. What is there left for me in Vienna?

June 20, Alt-Aussee

Everything passes. I am sitting once more at my writing desk of last summer, and all I have left of my father is his picture which stands in front of me. He is completely gone from my life. Only this picture tells me how he looked, he whom I shall never see again.

\* \* \*

Letter to the Sultan:\*

Sire:

I have the honor to inform Y.I.M. of my father's death. It is this sad event that recalled me from London where I was in the process of having my friends create a financial syndicate for the familiar projects.

Now I see by the papers that M. Rouvier's project has been accepted. Surely the matter of the consolidation ought to be kept separate from the projects. There remains only the exploitation of the mines and the creation of a new bank for the Ottoman countries. But I do not know if Y.I.M. still wishes my friends to attend to this.

Therefore I humbly request Y.I.M. to let me know your exalted decision. On the 30th of June I leave here for London where I hope to stay for about two weeks. Having already prepared the ground, it will be easy for me to accomplish something in a short time if I have something tangible in my hands.

I have the honor, Sire, to remain

Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

\* In French in the original.



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June 20, 1902

Covering letter to Ibrahim.\*

Your Excellency:

I have had the great sorrow of losing my dear father. This sad event has brought me back from London suddenly. I must return there on June 30th. H.I.M.'s orders will find me until June 30th here at Alt-Aussee, Styria (Austria), and until July 15th in care of Sir Francis Montefiore, Bart., 42 Upper Grosvenor Street, London W.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the assurances of my high regard,

Very devotedly yours,  
Herzl.

June 20, 1902.

Letter to Izzet:\*

Your Excellency:

I have had a great sorrow. My good father is dead. I had to return from London hastily. Alas, too late.

I am now resuming the things I have started, and shall return to London at the end of this month.

I learn from the papers that the consolidation according to M. Rouvier's plan is a definite matter. Therefore it is a question of separating this from the projects which you indicated to me on Imperial orders under date of May 12.

But in order to be clear about this and not take any unnecessary steps, I must receive precise information.

Therefore I am permitting myself to recall to mind our point of departure.

In my most respectful letter to H.I.M. the Sultan, dated May

\* In French in the original.

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5th, I proposed the establishment of a Jewish University in Jerusalem. In your written reply, as well as in an oral message, you received this proposition favorably and demanded in exchange the formation of a syndicate for the exploitation of the mines and the creation of a new bank for the Ottoman countries.

Now, in order to advance seriously the negotiations with my financier friends, I need a sort of provisional *irade* which would state in principle the disposition to reach an agreement under the aforementioned conditions. A clear formula regarding the exploitation of the mines is particularly needed.

Today I wrote H.I.M. in the same vein, but without going into the details.

I believe that with the aid of my friends I can serve your interests well, but it is indispensable first of all to establish a definite basis for the negotiations.

Your reply will find me here at Alt-Aussee, Styria (Austria) until June 30th, and until the 15th of July at London, c/o Sir Fr. Montefiore, 42 Upper Grosvenor Street, W.

Kindly accept, Y.E., the assurances of my high regard and of my devotion.

Herzl.

June 22, Alt-Aussee

\* \* \*

Wire from Crespi:

188 (*Mahmud Nedim*) *invitera priant remettre projet. Refusez, exigez être appelé venir ici traiter directement.* [188 (*Mahmud Nedim*) will write you to reopen project. Refuse, insist on being called here to negotiate directly.]

June 24, Alt-Aussee

Wellisch and Crespi report that the Turkish ambassadors at London and Vienna have received instructions to come to an un-



derstanding with me. Both have reported back that I had left. I am wiring Kremenezky to go to see Mahmud Nedim and tell him that I am ready to go to the Sultan before departing for London.

July 3

Aboard the "Pas de Calais," between Calais and Dover.

I am on my way back to England again. Greenberg has *managed\** my appointment with Rothschild for tomorrow, and for the 7th inst. my hearing before the Parl. Commission.

One might almost assume that I shall now enjoy success, since my father is no longer around to rejoice at it.

It has taken me seven years to be able to say to R. what I will say to him tomorrow.

During the 30 hours of my journey thus far I have naturally hatched everything I will say to him and to the Commission. Also, what will have to be done in case of a Yes or a No.

Of course, I can also see myself returning to my *feuilletons* without having achieved my purpose.

July 5, London

When I left this city, I had one of the blackest nights of my life. When I returned yesterday, I had one of the most successful days.

Levontin came to see me at noon: an attaché of the Turkish Embassy was looking for me and waiting at the Trust.

I immediately went to the City with L. on the electric *underground*.\*

The attaché informed me that the ambassador had instructions from the Sultan, which he was to communicate to me at once. I asked him to come back in the afternoon, because I had *appointments\** now.

At 12:45 I set out for New Court to see Rothschild. The traffic

\* In English in the original.

jam around the Mansion House suited me nicely, for I didn't want to arrive too early. At one o'clock sharp I passed through the gate, had myself announced to the Lord of Banking Hosts,\* and was shown into a room that had a pronounced commercial look. Boxes of sample merchandise in the corners, etc.

I hadn't waited even a minute when *His Lordship\*\** came in, a good-looking, old Anglo-Jewish *gentleman\*\**.

We seated ourselves comfortably at a table, facing each other, and he began to unpack his bag of nonsense.

He has very attractive, large Jewish eyes, and he is very hard of hearing.

It would be dancing on a tight-rope if I were to record all the silly stuff that he rattled off with great assurance. He said that two jackasses sit on the Alien Commission: Evans Gordon, and I don't know who else. He called Arnold White a jackass, too. There would never be anti-Semitism in England, etc. In France it had been another story, etc.

He did not believe in *Zionism\*\**. (After a few introductory words in English, we spoke in German.)

He said he was no Zionist. We would never get Palestine, etc. He was an Englishman and wanted to remain one. He "desired" that I should say this and that to the Alien Commission, and not say this and the other.

This was more than I could take. I had already broken in with remarks a few times. But now I began to shout him down so loudly that he held his tongue, astounded and dazed.

"I will tell the Commission what I think proper and what I am convinced of. That has always been my custom, and I shall stick to it this time, too.

"It is not true that the Powers are against our going to Palestine. Actually, I have made Germany and Russia favorably disposed toward our cause. England would have no objection, I think. With the Sultan I am *persona grata* [an acceptable person]."

\* Translator's Note: Herzl's pun on the Biblical term for God—Lord of Hosts.

\*\* In English in the original.



"Yes," he interjected, "of course the Sultan is friendly toward you because you are Dr. Herzl of the *Neue Freie Presse*."

"Wrong," I cried. "The *Neue Freie Presse* doesn't have a thing to do with it. Its publishers are mortal enemies of my Jewish plan. The word Zionism has not been printed in the *Neue Freie Presse* to this day. My negotiations with the Sultan had nothing whatever to do with the *Neue Freie Presse*."

At that point the idiot wanted to embarrass me, and said:

"What will you reply if Gordon or someone else asks you whether you know anything about the Anglophobic attitude of the continental press, which is in the hands of the Jews and which received £800,000 from the Boers through Leyds?"

I answered rudely: "I assume that this Commission is not a gossiping society and that such nonsense won't be brought up. But if it is, I shall give a sharp answer. I would request that a list of those who have received money be made public. With respect to myself, you probably know that I am not a journalist who can be bought."

"Yes, I know that," he said, more reasonably, for his sole purpose in bringing up this rubbish was to probe for my sore spot. Surely no one would dream of asking me that idiotic question about a venal press.

He further said that Arnold White and Evans Gordon had called me in as a crown witness in order to use me for support by saying: "Dr. Herzl is certainly the exemplary Jew, and he declares that a Jew can never become an Englishman."

"It would be stupid arrogance on my part if I were to give this Commission a lecture on the characteristics of a real Englishman. I shall simply tell them what frightful misery exists in the East, and that the people must either die or get out. We have known about the Rumanian distress since '97; the Congress petitions haven't received any attention anywhere. In Galicia things may be even worse. There are more than 700,000 destitute people there. They, too, will start to move."

Milord said: "I do not wish you to tell the Commission that. Otherwise there will be restrictive legislation."

At that point I unlimbered the heavy artillery: "Certainly I shall say it! Most certainly! You can depend on that."

Whereupon his jaw dropped, he rang a bell, and sent for his brother Leopold.

To him I repeated what had been said, adding that *Jewish charity*\* had become a machine for stifling the cries of distress.

Milord wailed: "And that is what he wants to tell the Commission!"

"I would be a mean creature if I said only things that could lead to a restriction of immigration. But I would be one of those mean creatures to whom the English Jews ought to erect a monument out of gratitude, because I saved them from an influx of East European Jews and thus perhaps from anti-Semitism. However, I have a plan for remedying the situation, and I want to tell it to the Commission."

Here Milord interrupted and asked if I wanted to have lunch with them.

"With pleasure."

And we went over to the dining room, where I met Lord Rosebery's son and, later, Alfred, the third Rothschild, another such genius.

Fatuous talk during the meal. Pointing to a portrait of the Elector of Hesse, Leopold told me proudly that his great-grandfather had returned some money that had been entrusted to him — "otherwise we wouldn't all be sitting here."

Afterwards, in Milord's office, Alfred told me about his high Austrian and Prussian decorations: "High, what? Royal Orders, first class!" The same Alfred asked me what I wanted to do for the Jews. Colonization, fine! But why in Palestine? "Palestine sounds too Jewish!"

Go negotiate with this pack of idiots!

Yet Milord is the most intelligent of them.

After coffee I went over to his desk and asked:

"Would you like to hear my *scheme*\* now?"

\* In English in the original.



"Yes."

I moved my chair close to his better ear and said:

"I want to ask the British government for a Colonization Charter."

"Don't say *charter*.\* The word has a bad sound right now."

"We can call it whatever you like. I want to found a Jewish colony in a British possession."

"Take Uganda!"

"No. I can only use this...." And because there were other people in the room, I wrote on a slip of paper which I am pasting in here as a souvenir: "Sinai Peninsula, Egyptian Palestine, Cyprus." And I added: "Are you for it?"

He thought it over with a smirk, and said:

"Very much so."

That was the victory. I further wrote on the piece of paper:

"Prevent the Sultan from getting money!" (Rouvier).

He said:

"I prevented Rumania from getting money. But this I can't do, for the Powers desire it. They want to have the railroads built."

I said: "The Sultan offered me Mesopotamia."

He (astounded): "And you refused?"

"Yes."

With this I concluded. *Nous sommes gens de revue* [We are showmen].\*\* While I was talking with Milord, Leopold sent me an invitation to his *garden-party*\* on Monday. The premiers from all the colonies would be there.

"Is Chamberlain coming?" I asked. "He is the only one I'm interested in."

Leopold didn't know.

I said: "If I'm through at the Commission, I'll come."

And I left.

\* \* \*

\* In English in the original.

\*\* Translator's Note: Herzl means that as a dramatist he knows when to end a scene.

To the Turkish ambassador, who informed me that the Sultan had asked by telegram that I come to Constantinople immediately, I stated: impossible before Tuesday, because I have the Commission.

I said I was prepared to start out on Wednesday, but would prefer to get his instructions by wire because I might be able to arrange things here in advance. Then, too, the plague had broken out, and the quarantine would impede my movements.

The ambassador promised to telegraph to this effect.

July 9, London

Two days ago I had an off day at the Royal Commission. *Je n'étais pas dans mon assiette* [I was out of sorts], spoke and understood English badly, and made a number of mistakes due to caution.

After the Commission I drove out to Gunnersbury to the Rothschild *garden-party*,\* where I was seen and perhaps did Zionism more good among the *upper Jews*\* by *that* than by all my previous speeches and actions.

Dear old Lady Battersea also introduced me to Princess Louise, Duchess of Argyll. The princess conversed with me for a while.

\* \* \*

Yesterday I repaired the bad impression which I felt I had made at the Commission hearing on Lord James, its chairman, by calling on him and telling him frankly everything that I had cloaked with reserve at the session.

He thought that I could carry out the Sinai-El Arish-Cyprus plan only with the aid of Lord Rothschild. The Rothschilds would have to become my agents in this country (England). They were highly respected here, where there was no anti-Semitism.

We must not expect any money from the British government for

\* In English in the original.



the project colony. The funds for it would have to be supplied by the Jews.

I didn't go into details regarding the possible constitution of the Jewish colony. I merely said that it ought to be made *attractive*\* so that not only beggars would come there.

I believe Lord James liked the matter better than he cared to show me.

At noon today I shall be at Lord R.'s again.

July 10, London

After we had had lunch yesterday, I went into a private room with Lord Rothschild—to the astonishment of the bank clerks who will now probably discover, one and all, their Zionist hearts.

I pledged him to secrecy and then showed him Eulenburg's letter from Rominten, as well as that of the Grand Duke written in 1898.

"I am doing this, Milord, so that you may see how much of an injustice people have done me. Secondly, so that you may tell the British government: It's all right to deal with this man, he doesn't compromise his friend."

After that I explained to him the plan for a *Jewish Company*\* for Sinai, Egyptian Palestine, and Cyprus. Lord James, I told him, had said that the matter depended on his (R.'s) cooperation.

"Call together the leading figures in the City, organize the *Jewish Company*,\* and you will be rendering a patriotic service to England. But above all no philanthropy—it must be *business*."

"Put that in writing!" he said. "I shall discuss it with Chamberlain on Friday. But under no circumstances do I want to make a big experiment. Just a small one, 25,000 settlers at the most."

I said:

"I shall do it on a big scale or not at all."

\* In English in the original.

*Bref* [in short], after various exchanges we agreed that I should make a memorandum for him.

\* \* \*

Letter to Lord R.:

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Yesterday the gentleman down there again urgently telegraphed for me. I had to answer him that I shall leave for there the day after tomorrow, Saturday.

I have only hours left in London. It is uncertain when I can return, for there is the plague down there and I shall probably get detained by the quarantine. A conference with Chamberlain—even if only for half an hour—seems to me of the highest value. He can even receive me in his slippers. Tell him that it could, in any case, be of value to England if he sees me before my departure, because I am *persona gratissima* [a most acceptable person] and can bring up directly whatever I want, including English interests.

If you let him know this today, he will give me an appointment for tomorrow. Naturally it would be grand if you were present.

As for the promised plan for the creation of a Jewish colony, I shall prepare it today. It will be short and clear. The political part, for Chamberlain, in English; the financial aspects of its implementation, for you, in German. You will receive both documents tomorrow morning.

I am, My Lord,

Yours very faithfully,  
Herzl.

July 10

Yesterday I saw the Ambassador, Costaki Anthopoulos Pasha, who read me the stupid state telegram. I am pasting it on the next page.

I had him wire that I am leaving on Saturday.



Oral communication from Costaki Anthopulos Pasha on July 9 in London:\*

H.M. the S. says that Dr. H. has expressed the desire to render loyal and faithful services in regard to the consolidation of the debt. You are instructed to see him at once and to remind him—since divulging the matter could be harmful to the Imp. govt.—that in this affair the most absolute discretion is required. If he is sure that he can make arrangements for the consolidation of the debt that are more advantageous to the Imp. govt. than those proposed by M. Rouvier—since in continuing a correspondence time would have been lost and the aim would not have been understood the way it needs to be—and on the condition that these communications would not involve any obligations to the govt., if he were sure that he could come to an understanding with one of the Israelite banks, and without revealing the purpose of his trip to Constantinople, you are instructed to tell him that if he rendered services to increase the benefits to the Ministry of Finance and that the efforts made by him met with Imperial satisfaction—you will tell him that in accordance with the Imp. govt.'s old tradition concerning the good of its subjects, it is obvious that H.M. the S. will also give the Israelites proofs of sympathy and protection. By Imp. orders you are instructed to communicate the preceding to Dr. H., and we await your reply as soon as possible.

July 12, London

I wasn't able to complete the letter and the Jewish Company plan for Lord Rothschild yesterday, because Costaki Anthopulos Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador, came to see me, took a lot of my time, and read to me the wire pasted in here:\*

It does not appear from your report that Mr. H. has reached an understanding with the banks and that he has laid any groundwork. Since the govt. has just made a decision to consolidate the

\* In French in the original.

debt with a bond issue of 32 mill. and since it is logical that the govt. will not change this decision as long as it is not assured of a more advantageous arrangement, in this case there is no reason for Mr. H. to come to Constantinople. For this same reason he had been told to return from Paris (?) to London, and at that time he was notified of this arrangement.

It at this time Mr. H. can give assurances of an advantageous, solid, strong, and definitive arrangement, with a bond issue of 30 mill., he is invited to submit it without delay.

\* \* \*

That's the way His Imperial Majesty the Caliph is; may Allah keep him for us in any case, because he is a friend of the Jews and a friend of mine.

When I wanted to know in advance what it was all about, he ordered me to take the trip. When I was ready to go, he cancelled the order and told me about it.

Costaki Anthopulos had sent his agent Sherian Effendi to my hotel to tell me to come to the Embassy, because he was leaving for Bath at 11 o'clock. I immediately saw an opportunity to force him to come to me, and sent him word that I couldn't come before noon. An ambassador doesn't like to miss the week-end train to Bath.

So he came.

I put on a serious face and told him the story of my three-million deposit which I had had to withdraw again. My friends wouldn't want to expose themselves to another occurrence of a similar nature.

Also, there was general talk that the deal with Rouvier had been completed. A man might appear as an indelicate competitor if in such a case he came with a lower offer—which might again be used only to obtain more favorable conditions.

Nevertheless, I would do my utmost. I would give him my answer on Tuesday.

He was highly pleased at my not giving him a long wire to



send—he himself, evidently because of his trip to Bath, suggested Tuesday to me as the *jour de réponse* [day for an answer]—and left for Bath.

\* \* \*

Then I finished the letter and the plan for Rothschild, but my wise and good friends Greenberg and Cowen voiced misgivings, so that I am not sending Rothschild the letter I had drafted first (I am including it here for future memoirs), but am writing another one.

During the day Rothschild had sent me the following letter.  
[Not pasted in here].

In the evening I sent him this reply:

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Today the Turkish Ambassador paid me such a long visit that I didn't get a chance to work out the plan I had promised you.

However, this interruption also had the advantage that I don't have to leave tomorrow and shall probably stay here until Wednesday.

I shall send you the document tomorrow afternoon.

Very faithfully yours,  
Herzl.

\* \* \*

Financial draft for Rothschild:

*The Jewish (Eastern) Company, Limited.\**

Lord Rothschild convenes 5 or 6 financiers, whom he plans to take on the Board, for a conference.

The land concessions to be granted by the English government as well as the influx of working people promise a quite respectable profit.

\* In English in the original.

The working capital is at present ten million pounds, 10 to 20% of it on deposit. Money will be called in only *au fur et à mesure* [in proportion to] the actual need.

The shares are not to be kept by the syndicate, but placed.

The calculation should not depend on the category of those who will take shares for the sake of the good cause. There will be such people, of course. But there will be more of the second category, those who will place their financial confidence in a Company headed by Lord Rothschild.

Most numerous of all will be the third category, those immigrants who are not impecunious.

Everybody appreciates the fact that land is made valuable by settlers.

The immigration will be directed and organized according to plan.

The organization will be carried out according to uniform directions by the Local Groups at the places of origin.

In this way control of the immigration will be kept in hand and will be regulated year by year, even week by week, on the basis of the existing conditions. One can start as small as one likes—but *need not publicly announce the moment at which one becomes bigger*. This is because of Russia and perhaps other Powers as well who would otherwise bother us.

\* \* \*

The political draft for Chamberlain (in Greenberg's translation) is as follows:

[Missing].

\* \* \*

Letter to Rothschild:

*Private and confidential.\**

\* In English in the original.



July 12, 1902

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Please find enclosed the general outlines of the plan (the political aspects in English, the financial part in German) for the settlement of the destitute Jews on the Sinai Peninsula, in Egyptian Palestine, and on Cyprus.

To obviate any misunderstanding, now or in the future, may I point out that I have drawn up this plan for you because you declared yourself opposed to Palestine. You are the greatest effective force that our people has had since its dispersion, and I consider myself in duty bound to place my humble advice at your disposal, provided you want to do something effective for our unfortunates at all. I must not be a stickler for principles and reject any immediate help for the poorest of our poor, no matter what form it may take. More than that: I must give my advice to the best of my knowledge.

In addition to this human interest, I have a political motive in this as well. A great Jewish settlement east of the Mediterranean will strengthen our prospects for Palestine. The Jews in the English colony of the Jewish Eastern Company will be as loyal Zionists as Hirsch's remote colonists in Argentina.

Whether I can personally assist in the execution of the project, i.e., whether I can make our Zionist organizations available for it, depends upon the decision of my party. I would call a confidential conference of the committee members from all countries and submit the question to them.

In addition, however, I have a second plan for you, which can be carried out simultaneously with the first one, *but also separately*.

This plan is *quite secret*.

It refers to Mesopotamia.

I told you that the Sultan has offered me settlement in Mesopotamia. (In February of this year, when I went to Constantinople at his invitation.) I declined the offer, because it excluded Palestine. I can get back to it tomorrow, since my relations have remained excellent.

In return we would handle certain financial affairs for him. This job is being solicited by someone whose name I can give you orally. The Sultan would prefer to hand it over to me, because he knows that I personally am not pursuing any financial advantage. Naturally he also wants somewhat more favorable terms. But even if he were granted more favorable terms, about two million pounds could be made on the deal.

This profit would go to the Jewish Company, so that it would start its life with a *certain* profit of two million pounds. I believe that this would facilitate the realization of the plan.

I don't know whether you are sufficiently informed about me, but I believe that I ought to emphasize clearly that in this scheme, too, I have no financial interest whatsoever. I am not a financial agent, and my only desire at most would be that the Jewish National Fund be assigned an appropriate amount if this profitable transaction is carried through. I am not making a *condicio sine qua non* [an indispensable condition] out of it.

I would prefer the first plan, because in Mesopotamia there are fewer political assurances for the future. Only if the Jewish colony cannot be established *in the British possessions*,\* because the English government refuses or there is no willingness on the part of the financiers, will I give you this second plan.

I shall give you the financial details of the Mesopotamian plan in person, if you wish. Preferably tomorrow, Sunday; and I am prepared to come out to the country or anywhere else to see you. I am at your disposal on Monday, too. I hope that I can finally depart on Tuesday or Wednesday.

Very faithfully yours,  
Herzl.

July 15, London

No answer from Rothschild. Yesterday came an ultimatum from the Sultan: I must submit the detailed proposal by this morning (evidently a chess move of the Rouvier people).

\* In English in the original.



I answered through Costaki Anthopoulos: We are ready in principle to open discussions on the transaction, but things couldn't be done that fast.

\* \* \*

In the meantime, other schemes: I will try to get to Rosebery through Lord Battersea, and through the former to the English government; in the interest of regaining its influence in the Orient, the government should induce the English Jews to collaborate with me. P.S. Lady Battersea wrote to Lord Rosebery, who regretted immensely,\* but he had to leave town.

Copy of the "ultimatum," a photostat of which I am depositing in my safe-deposit box at the Trust.

*Confidential.\**

Telegr. of the 12th (resumé):\*\*

His reply can only be waited for until *Tuesday morning* at the latest. For we cannot postpone the course we have decided upon any longer than that. Besides, it is obvious that nothing can be done in this important financial matter without the assistance of the Israelite banks.

Therefore a definitive reply, containing all the necessary details, is expected without fail. No communication can be accepted until Tuesday morning.

\* \* \*

Thereupon I wrote down the following at the ambassador's place and read it to him.\*\*

Mr. Herzl tells me:

Despite the incident of the deposit which took place last Spring I have succeeded in making my friends favorably inclined. I permit myself to recall the facts. Following my return from Constanti-

\* In English in the original.

\*\* In French in the original.

nople and upon semi-official advice, I had a deposit of 3 million francs made in three banks in Paris, London, and Berlin, to serve as security for important proposals. But as soon as I had produced these letters of credit before H. Exc. Mahmud Nedim Bey at Vienna, I received orders to withdraw these deposits. My friends were mildly offended by this incident. Nevertheless, I have been able to convince them now, and they are ready in principle to go into the proposed question. However, as for giving all the necessary details by tomorrow morning, that is an impossibility. A matter of this importance cannot be slapped together in a few hours.

I permit myself to observe that on Wednesday the 9th of July H. Exc. Costaki Anthopoulos Pasha again communicated to me the Imperial order to leave for Constantinople without informing anybody of the reason for my departure. I was going to leave on Saturday. Only on Friday the 18th of July\* did I receive Imperial orders not to leave and to sound out my friends.

Under these conditions it is impossible properly to carry out an operation for which M. Rouvier had more months than I have days.

H.Imp.M. will recognize my devotion just the same.

I have now given all the necessary instructions to my friends. On Wednesday I shall leave for *Alt-Aussee, Austria*. H. Exc. Mahmud Nedim can easily send me H.Imp.M.'s orders, either by an embassy employee or by my confidential representative in Vienna whom H.Exc. knows. I could, moreover, continue negotiations with my London friends by coded telegram.

July 16

Yesterday there came a letter from Rothschild which is not without interest. He says that there is not enough money to do the thing on a big scale. The matter requires previous study, anyway. He intends to look more closely into the Sinai project, etc. Rubbish.

\* \* \*

\* Translator's Note: Apparently a slip; it was the 12th (cf. p. 1298).



In the evening I went to see the German baron Eckartstein, Embassy Councillor, former *chargé d'affaires* during Hatzfeld's illness. A magnificent human specimen of giant dimensions, a Newfoundland breed with the most devoted eyes. He has big ideas for the future and the most beautiful wife I have ever seen. Née Maple (*filie de tapissier* [an upholsterer's daughter]).

Talked with Eckartstein on his balcony garden in Grosvenor Square late into the night, about world politics, the Orient, and Germany.

He wants to form a great party against landed proprietors and revolutionaries. I recommended land reform and cooperative societies to him.

July 16, London

Costaki Anthopoulos summoned me today. He had a wire saying that the matter had gone back to the Porte (apparently approved by Yildiz).

Letter to the Sultan: \*

Sire:

I have the honor to confirm the telegram that I asked His Exc. Costaki Anthopoulos Pasha to transmit to Y.I.M. Since I had only a few days at my disposal and had only received on Friday last, July 11, authorization to speak to my friends about this matter, this is the earliest I have been able to complete my arrangements, the results of which I am presenting.

It is possible to make a saving of two million pounds in issuing the bonds. His Majesty has only to declare to the group currently managing the matter his formal and absolute resolution only to agree to the consolidation for an expenditure of 30 millions instead of 32 millions, and that without any change in the other conditions.

The group has gone too far to be able to withdraw. According to my information, the group, having already acquired a certain amount of bonds, finds itself in a greater need to bring the matter

\* In French in the original.

to a conclusion than the Imp. govt. does. The Imp. govt. is not getting very good terms, and the advantages are entirely on the side of the financiers and the foreign powers. Under these conditions the govt. loses nothing by putting off an arrangement that is not advantageous.

The group, having a number of bonds on its hands, must now accept what is offered it.

That for reasons easy to see. The group's principal profit must consist in the difference between the Exchange prices.

If the proposed plan goes awry, perhaps they would lose a great deal. That is the advantage from which I should be happy to make Y.I.M. profit.

There are two possible outcomes.

1) The group will have to accept the loss of two millions of debts so as not to lose other benefits.

2) The group will withdraw from the affair. Then Y.I.M.'s govt. will have avoided getting bad terms. After a period of time another group formed by my friends will present itself to reopen the matter.

It would be of no help and *even harmful* to let the current group know that there is another plan in the works, because then, *knowing there would be a demand* for the bonds already in their possession, they would not give up.

If H.M. simply says: either you make the consolidation with 30 mill. of debts, or I will not proceed with such an undertaking at all—then they will have to give up.

But if H.M. says to them: I have another arrangement, then they will wait to sell their acquired bonds more dearly.

I hope H.M. in his lofty wisdom will perceive with what complete disinterest I am serving his interests.

If the current group yields to the conditions indicated above, I would have the satisfaction of having given good advice.

If they withdraw, so much the better for Y.I.M.'s interests, and the project will be carried out by sincerely devoted friends. But it will be necessary to let several weeks go by before they present themselves.



It seems to me superfluous to give here the details of our proposals which have as their basis the payment of only 30 millions of debts. For if the other proposal is accepted, then ours is no longer of any interest. And if Y.I.M. does me the honor of following my advice, the complete plan will be submitted directly and by word of mouth to Y.I.M. within a few weeks.

I am leaving here tomorrow morning for Alt-Aussee in Styria (Austria). Telegraphic communications can be sent me through Mahmud Nedim Bey who will turn them over to my confidential agent in Vienna. Letters can be addressed to me directly by post.

I remain Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant

Dr. Th. H.

July 17, on the train, between Calais and Paris

*Private and confidential.\**

Dated July 21, Alt-Aussee

Dear Lord Rothschild:

In the rush of my departure I didn't answer your letter of the 15th inst. in London, because you say yourself that my colonization proposal requires prolonged study.

That is quite all right with me. It was also my thought that a settlement can be started only in early Spring—February or March—at the time of Summer planting, because that is the shortest period until the first harvest. The land would of course have to be secured in the Autumn, and the Winter would have to be used for preparations, the details of which I worked out long ago.

I would be so glad if I didn't have to take your reply as a refusal. Who can help our poor people if not you?

You are a fine man—today, having got to know you, I am convinced of it. Be a great man, too.

The campaign will contain a guarantee of success only if it is

\* In English in the original.

THE COMPLETE DIARIES OF THEODOR HERZL 1309  
carried on with sufficient resources and is made *capable of expansion*.

For a *penny tube*\* from Piccadilly to Cornhill one easily figures on 16 mill. pounds. Combines of 10 mill. pounds for some industrial enterprise are nothing fabulous in this American era.

And should a Land Company which will finally remove the tormenting Jewish Question from the face of the earth be unable to raise that much money under Lord Rothschild's guidance?

I do know what the confusing thing about it is: the proposal seems to have too philanthropic a character for people to be able to tackle it and present it in a business way.

But this would be precisely the accomplishment for which you could acquire everlasting credit for yourself.

As I understand you, Milord, you wouldn't make much of a fuss if you were expected to donate 10 or 20,000 pds. for some big aid campaign. I have been told that you give away over 100,000 pds. annually.

But here you are to give no money at all, not a penny—you are only asked to lend your authority, your influence, your power to an enterprise that is likely to yield you a profit.

Do you think so little of the prestige of your house that you consider raising 10 mill. pds. among the Jews all over the world as doubtful for even a minute, if you place yourself at the head of the project?

Your cousins in Paris could no longer carry on such a campaign today. They are being governed indirectly by Mr. Drumont, and woe to them if they don't show themselves as French patriots in dealing with the financial embarrassments of the Russian government, which makes pariahs of our people.

Your situation, Milord, is quite different—today, at any rate, before anti-Semitism has prevailed in England.

Today you still have elbow room. In fact, you may claim high credit from your government if you strengthen English influence east of the Mediterranean by a great colonization of our people at a nodal point of Egyptian and Indo-Persian interests.

\* In English in the original.



How long do you suppose that the benefits to be reaped there will remain unnoticed, anyway? Then we Jews, we sharp but always hoodwinked Jews, will again be left holding the bag. The thing can be done; quickly and on a large scale, through the Land and Trade Company whose outline I have sketched for you. Hirsch's enterprise was a game, a show, and not expanded. A commonwealth does not consist only of agriculture. That part of these millions which has not yet been squandered by mismanagement will necessarily have to go toward an all-encompassing settlement. But I wouldn't want a calculation to be based on this, any more than on other "philanthropists."

The land company can succeed only if it is based not on *rachmones* [pity], but on economic interests. Perhaps I shall manage to obtain financially valuable concessions. Then you will hear from me again.

Tomorrow morning I am going to Constantinople. I don't know yet how long I shall stay there. Should you have any message for me, please use the good offices of Mr. Greenberg, 80 Chancery Lane, who always has my address.

Very faithfully yours,  
Herzl.

July 21, Alt-Aussee

Stormy exchange of telegrams during the last two days.

The Sultan wants me urgently.

I am leaving for there with Wolffsohn tomorrow.

*Vederemo* [We shall see]!

## Book Twelve

Begun on July 25, 1902  
in Constantinople



July 25, Therapia

Again there have been two days of quaking and shaking, the twilight existence of modern gypsydom in the Grand Express, sleeping, daydreaming, eating—and countries flying past.

Constantinople is the way it was.

Dirt, dust, noise, red fezzes, blue waters; and the square white tree guards on the road up to Yildiz have elegant cut-out crescents.

The *baksheesh* snatchers at the Yildiz entrance already greet me with a familiar grin. They know the golden rain of my exit.

Cultivated friendship with Ibrahim. The last time he had told me about his son's death. This time, alas, I told him about the death of my father.

Again the unnerving waiting period; then I again had the Sultan reminded of my presence.

Shortly after that there appeared, with a friendly air—Tahsin.

He told Ibrahim, who reproduced it for me, that I was the guest of the Sultan and had a court equipage at my disposal.

Then he asked me for a memorandum of my propositions. I pleaded exhaustion from my trip, but—*la volonté du maître* [the Master's wish]! Tahsin made a doubtful face and left to report it.

Meanwhile I did sit down, moaning and groaning, and started in with a muzzy head. But I felt relieved when Tahsin returned and brought word that I could write the memorandum at Therapia. A servant would come for it. So I went by steamer from Beshiktash as far as Yeniköi, then by carriage here to Therapia, arrived at half past eight, sat down with a stuffy head, and sat up till 11:30 at night making two copies (a first draft and a clean copy) of the memorandum which I am pasting in below.

Then Ibrahim's servant left with it. If Ibrahim worked hard, he finished the translation during the night. The Sultan may be reading it this very moment. If it meets with his approval, perhaps he will receive me after the *selamlik*.

Anyway, the Bosphorus is blue!

\* \* \*



Sire:\*

I have the honor to submit the following considerations to Y.I.M.

First a word on the political aspect of the Rouvier plan. M. Rouvier's current position as Minister of Finance does not make the situation more difficult, but actually makes it easier.

If his proposal is not accepted by Y.I.M., the French ministry cannot be unpleasant to the Ottoman govt., because the opponents of the French cabinet would have every opportunity to declare that the Republic has to serve the interests of a financial group. On the other hand, if the Rouvier plan is adopted, M.R. would have to be careful not to be politically obliging to Turkey, because he would be attacked on the grounds that he had been won over by financial considerations.

Besides, in my humble opinion, there is no hurry about making a decision one way or the other.

At this moment the situation is such that M. Rouvier's group must wish, much more than the Imp. govt., for the matter to be brought to a conclusion. The longer the group waits, the easier it will be to deal with.

In fact, the group is already in possession of a rather large part of the debt to be consolidated. If the plan is rejected, the group will suffer, by the certain drop in price, a loss that will probably cause it to ponder before withdrawing.

No danger, then, from this direction, and even if Y.I.M. should not believe it necessary to adopt our proposals, the temporary rejection of the Rouvier plan could only have advantageous consequences. The conditions would become easier. But only in case it is kept an *absolute secret* that another plan exists.

If the Rouvier group learns that there are others willing to carry out the consolidation, it will be uncompromising, because the bonds that the Rouvier group already has will be needed.

The first condition of a new arrangement is, then, the pure and simple rejection of the Rouvier scheme.

After that Y.I.M. will be able to come to new terms either with

\* In French in the original.

the Rouvier group now become less demanding, or with my friends who will not come forward until the rejection of the Rouvier plan. This, first, out of consideration for financiers' ethics, because they believe they should not make official proposals as long as the Imp. govt. is in the midst of negotiations so far along, if not almost concluded, with another group; second, for considerations of prudence. If it is known here and now that my friends are to take over the matter, the prices will be raised to such an extent that not only my friends' enterprise but any other attempt at consolidation will become impossible for a very long time.

But if Y.I.M. declared that he had given up any idea of consolidating the Debt because the advantages for the Empire are not sufficiently evident (which is the truth), then the ground will be cleared before long, the prices will fall, and we shall be able to go ahead with a chance of success.

My friends are ready to carry out the consolidation along the general lines of the Rouvier plan, which in the future gives the Imperial govt. a certain latitude for increasing the revenues from the Debt in its own interest. My friends would perform this operation on the basis of an expenditure of 30 millions of new obligations. That is to say, if consolidation required—once the Rouvier plan is known and expected by the public—more than 30 millions and up to 32 millions of new obligations, my friends would provide the Imp. govt. with ready money at a discount of 80 per cent for the issuance of new bonds in excess of 30 millions.

In exchange, the Imp. govt. would grant us a charter or concession for Jewish colonization in Mesopotamia, as Y.I.M. deigned to offer me last February, adding the territory of Haifa and its environs in Palestine.

If Y.I.M. does not yet deem it proper to accept my views on the usefulness of Jewish colonization to the Empire, I am nevertheless at his disposal as a devoted and completely disinterested servant. Under the existing conditions there is a very advantageous transaction to be made.

Y.I.M.'s privy purse can buy at a low price a certain number of



bonds which will go on the market as soon as the Rouvier plan has been disposed of.

This stock can later (and at a much higher price) go toward the consolidation which will necessarily take place some day. I pledge myself to see that this operation is carried out with absolute discretion and as advantageously as possible.

It is true that the consolidation itself is only a step in the improvement of the finances. The operation will be slow and complicated in whatever manner it is performed. Its results will not be immediate. The new revenues will consist only of an increase in the taxpayers' burden. If I may be permitted to express my humble opinion, I would judge it more useful to establish at once new sources of revenue, to let the consolidation project drag along for some time yet, to let it be neglected in order to accomplish it with greater profit later, and above all to go ahead with the establishment of new sources of revenue.

These sources of revenue would be, among other things, the exploitation of the mines, the forests, and perhaps of electric power. My friends are disposed to undertake the task and to serve Y.I.M. faithfully.

With the country enriched by industries, the strengthened taxpayers will then be able to bear more easily the increase of taxes, which will come only after the Debt is consolidated.

I beg Y.I.M. to forgive the hasty form of these observations which I have jotted down while still a little tired from my trip. I still hope to be able to talk with Y.I.M. personally about my ideas, which are those of a sincere friend of this beautiful country which can become a rich and prosperous one.

I have the honor to be Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant.

July 26, between Therapia and Yildiz

Aboard my *mouche* [river steamer].

Yesterday, Friday, was once again a typical, familiar, hot, dreary, dull, demoralizing day of waiting in Ibrahim's office.

I arrived at Yildiz at noon, before the *selamlık*, after a ride in the court carriage on the dustiest, most neglected road [*Hoffahrt muss leiden*].\*

The Sultan saw me as I rode past, and the foreign diplomats also gave me suspicious, curious, and venomous looks. The German *chargé d'affaires* in particular, Wangenheim, watched me venomously and peevishly.

Ibrahim told me later that the German dragoman had asked him whether the banker Herzl would be received by the Sultan today. Ibrahim said correctly that he didn't know any banker by that name, but only a writer.

Tahsin came from time to time and brought Ibrahim minor messages for me from the Sultan. After lunch I was excused for four hours, because the Sultan thought he needed that much time to study my memorandum. But I was supposed to keep myself at the Sultan's disposal from 6 o'clock on at the Pera Palace, not at Therapia.

So I looked for Wolffsohn at the quay, found him and the steamer, and went to Therapia to fetch my night things. But during the hour-and-a-half of my Bosphorus trip, the Sultan had called me again. At Therapia I already found a telegram asking me to return to the palace immediately.

This I did, provided with luggage for a possible overnight stay at Pera.

When I arrived at Yildiz at a quarter past six, I was introduced to aged Karatheodory Pasha (Alexander), called the great Karatheodory, the co-author of the Berlin treaty. He has instructions from the Sultan to translate my strictly confidential memorandum. I had sent it to Ibrahim in an unsealed envelope the night before. Ibrahim told me very shrewdly that he hadn't even read it so he could tell everyone that he hadn't read it. I don't believe that.

Poor old Karatheodory sweated audibly until 12:15 a.m. over

\* Translator's Note: Literally, "one has to suffer on a trip to the court." Herzl may have intended a play on the word *Hoffart* which means "arrogance." In that case, the meaning would be similar to the proverb "Pride cometh before a fall."



the translation which I had to co-sign and put in an envelope addressed to the Sultan and bearing my seal. At 12:15 Tahsin was called, and I turned the envelope over to him. I was given an appointment for this morning.

Then we went to Therapia by steamer through a wonderful moon-lit night.

I was too worn out to enjoy this trip.

\* \* \*

In the afternoon Izzet joined me in Ibrahim's office for a moment. I squeezed his hand.

July 27, Therapia

Addendum.

When we were on our way to Yildiz two days ago, Friday evening, we met the carriages of all the Ministers, with the Ministers in them, going down the hill.

Later I found out that a Cabinet meeting had been called to receive my proposition. But since Karatheodory hadn't finished his translation, they had to leave again after waiting for some time.

\* \* \*

Yesterday an idle day.

I was at Ibrahim's office punctually at 10 o'clock, but he and Karatheodory were late.

Time is not money here.

Karatheodory, whom I had taken for an old buffoon on the day before, opened his eyes during the conversation when I got him to talk about Bismarck and Disraeli. He is really a great fellow, this *grand Karatheodory*.

He said some really terrific things. E.g., he described Bismarck as a brutal man, but a *grand charmeur* [great charmer]. Bismarck had completely dominated the Berlin Congress, but he had had his favorites, e.g., Karatheodory himself, whom he had once handed a bouquet of roses at the conference table.

"*A tout propos il savait des anecdotes. Tout lui était arrivé* [He had anecdotes for any occasion. Everything had happened to him]."

I consider this "*tout lui était arrivé*" a masterful character sketch in four words.

Then we spoke about England, about the last war in South Africa, from which Greater England had emerged strengthened, because it had brought out the national unity of the colonies. This was my opinion—to be sure, there were Englishmen who maintained the contrary.

At this Alexander Pasha said:

"*Il y a toujours des Anglais qui disent le contraire* [There are always Englishmen who maintain the contrary]."

Also very neat.

\* \* \*

I had originally concluded from the patent-leather boots in which Karatheodory had appeared that we would go to the Sultan—he as interpreter in place of Ibrahim whom the Sultan has evidently relieved of the assignment.

But the lunch hour came round, we went to eat, and rose from the table again.

Nothing came.

Not until after lunch did Tahsin come with a message. The Sultan had wished to consult with the Grand Vizier about my memorandum. But the Grand Vizier had a cold as well as an abscessed tooth. I could withdraw, I was not likely to be called before tomorrow (this) evening.

\* \* \*

I believe that during this waiting period my offer is being used to exact more favorable conditions from Rouvier.

It would be very unwise and inept if the Grand Vizier did this. For as long as he owns a lot of *titres* [bonds], Rouvier need not be afraid of another consolidation. On the contrary, he could then



sit back and watch it. But the whole consolidation will be jeopardized by the appearance of competition.

\* \* \*

In the meantime, I feel that I am being observed from all sides. A financially rehabilitated Turkey will be of no use to the Powers.

Hence I am convinced that all sorts of steps are now being taken against me in the darkness of diplomatic intrigues.

What?

July 28, Therapia

I shall give a report later on yesterday, a wondrous day, like everything else.

Letter to the Sultan: \*

Sire:

I have the honor to submit to Y.I.M. the report of the conversation that I had yesterday with His Highness the Grand Vizier.

I explained our proposals fully to His Highness. First, I recalled the fact that it was only on July 11 that I received from His Excellency the ambassador at London notification of the conditions desired by Y.I.M. The invitation to come to Constantinople, which I had received the preceding week, was accompanied by instructions not to speak to anyone about the purpose of my trip. Between July 11 and 15, that is to say, in four days, I was to give a precise answer to the question whether it was possible to carry out the operation on a basis of 30 millions of new bonds. I replied in the affirmative on July 16. There was not time to work out a new plan, which, besides, would probably have taken weeks for the Imp. govt. to study.

Under these conditions we simply took the Rouvier plan, thus keeping the advantages that the Imp. govt. sees in it, and we topped it by offering to pay for the new obligations in excess of 30 million

\* In French in the original.

pounds up to 32 millions at the rate of 80 percent. Thus Y.I.M.'s wish was carried out, and the burden of debt which would devolve upon the Imp. govt. in place of the existing debt would in effect be no more than 30 millions even if a nominal issue of 32 millions became necessary. For the surplus of obligations required to buy up the old bonds could not be considered a debt, being balanced by a payment in the process of issuance.

We asked in return for a charter or concession for a colonization company in Mesopotamia and in a small part of Palestine. This company would naturally pay a fee which could be calculated according to families of colonists.

His Highness asked me if these colonists would accept Ottoman citizenship and military service.

I replied in the affirmative.

His Highness then asked me if the two operations—consolidation of the Debt and colonization—could not be separated, since basically they have no apparent connection.

I conceded the fairness of this remark.

But I added that in such a short time it was impossible to work out other worthwhile plans and I had to take the one I was certain of being able to carry out at once, having obtained my friends' consent.

His Highness asked of whom the syndicate was composed.

I replied in accordance with my respectful letter of July 24 to Y.I.M. that for the moment it is a question of financial ethics. My friends cannot officially make themselves known because the Rouvier plan is almost completed, an existing *mazbata* [decree].

His Highness had the goodness to recognize that in these circumstances respectable financiers cannot act otherwise.

After this I permitted myself a few words about our request for a charter for colonization. If it is a compensation for our effort, it is surely not a burdensome one. For the element of population that we wish to introduce into Y.I.M.'s Empire is not to be feared; it is neither dangerous nor troublesome. It is a sober, industrious, loyal element, bound to the Moslems by racial kinship and religious affinity. One of Y.I.M.'s glorious ancestors invited the un-



fortunate Jews into his dominions at the time of the persecutions in the fifteenth century. They came in great numbers. Have the Sultans of Turkey ever had cause to complain of their Jewish subjects?

I added that if, for example, on the occasion of his next birthday Y.I.M. should deign to make a declaration in favor of the Jewish people, in our days of the telegraph and rapid communication that would have an almost instantaneous repercussion throughout the entire world. It would be the great signal to attract intelligence, capital, industry, and enterprises of every kind, and it would be not only the territory of Mesopotamia and Haifa with its little bit of hinterland that would profit by it, but the whole Ottoman Empire.

On my return to Yildiz Kiosk, H.E. Aarif Bey reported to me that Y.I.M. did not want a concentration of immigrants in any one part of the territory. I will not be so bold as to insist, but to my mind colonization need not take the form of unhealthy concentration. If a large company with sufficient capital manages the colonization, it could reach an agreement with the government on the areas to be colonized, and the establishment of the colonists could be systematically controlled and guided, following a previously determined plan.

Y.I.M. will decide in His lofty wisdom.

It is perhaps a matter of confidence, and Y.I.M. may wish to enlarge his knowledge of my devotion and financial integrity of my friends. We are at your disposal even if we do not, for the moment, reach an agreement on the proposed matter.

First, to prove that my devotion is not an empty word, I am at Y.I.M.'s orders to help him with my humble ability in the consolidation project. I am convinced that greater advantages for the Imperial Treasury could be obtained even from M. Rouvier's group. But it would be necessary to go about it very adroitly and, above all, to assure the most absolute secrecy for the decisions finally arrived at by Y.I.M. It would succeed only if the secrecy were complete.

My presence in Constantinople has not gone unnoticed, and some advantages can be gained even from this fact. But if I may

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respectfully offer a piece of advice, it would be to do nothing and especially not to let anything leak out before I have the honor of being received in a private audience by Y.I.M. The last time I did not have this signal honor, but I hope not to be deprived of it this time.

I should be happy if I could be of use to Y.I.M. in any way whatever and thus show myself worthy of the kindness that Y.I.M. has shown me.

My services are equally at your disposal for any other aspect of the country's financial reorganization.

I have the honor to be Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

July 28, 1902

July 29, aboard the little "Konstantinos"

Yesterday, with its idle excitements, did not permit me to enter the events of Sunday.

On Sunday afternoon (two days ago) I received a telegram from Ibrahim saying that I should come to the Palace at once.

I changed my clothes and went to Beshiktash on our hired yacht.

At the palace, Ibrahim, Tahsin, and Aarif Bey, the Sultan's chamberlain, were already waiting for me. The Sultan had given orders that I be taken to the Grand Vizier. Ibrahim and Aarif were to accompany me.

To the great astonishment of the *baksheesh* caryatids at the Yildiz entrance I appeared flanked by these two *gros légumes* [big-shots] and followed by three discreet servants.

In the West this would probably have been taken for the *cortège* [procession] of an execution.

To His Highness, Said Pasha!

I went ahead in Ibrahim's carriage, the two gentlemen followed behind me in a second carriage.



At the Grand Vizier's there was more tedious, unnerving waiting.

First my two cavaliers disappeared into His Highness's office.

After a very long while the door opened; a short, fattish, faded old gentleman in a sick man's dressing gown appeared and asked me to come in.

That was Said Pasha.

He asked me for details of my memorandum that I had submitted to the Sultan.

In my letter of yesterday addressed to the Sultan I have reproduced in fairly accurate detail the substance of our conversation, which was attended by Ibrahim and Aarif as silent seconds, their hands respectfully folded over their bellies. It should be added only that Said, who looks very intelligent and was very amiable, declared my campaign to aid the Jews was something very humanitarian and commendable. But particular note should be taken of the long sideways glance at the two witnesses with which he accompanied the question as to what persons the syndicate was composed of. For this sidelong glance, that is, the ostensible cleverness expressed in it, he is Grand Vizier.

For the rest, he finished by saying that he was pleased to have made my acquaintance, and amidst *salaams* First Class with Oak Leaves he dismissed me.

I had anticipated this conversation with roughly the same expectations as the one with Chlodwig Hohenlohe four years ago at Potsdam. His Highness Said Pasha, too, *a fait son petit Hohenlohe* [pulled a little Hohenlohe]. Chilling despite all his amiability.

We drove back to Yildiz, again I in advance in Ibrahim's carriage and the two cavaliers bringing up the rear.

Aarif went to see the Sultan and brought me word that I should give a report about my conference with the Grand Vizier. This is the Sultan's way of controlling the accuracy of what is submitted to him. The system is undoubtedly clever, but it requires a brilliant ruler. Governing in public, at any rate, means greater freedom from care for the ruler.

I promised my report for yesterday morning, but didn't finish it until noon.

After the chilling amiability of the Grand Vizier (who is suffering from a chill and an abscessed tooth) and Aarif's even much worse message, the night had brought me peace again. When I was finishing my letter, I had the feeling of having made a good move in the chess game.

In accordance with the Sultan's wish, I put my letter in a sealed envelope and sent it to the palace by Wellisch, while I stayed on our *mouche* with Wolffsohn, on the blue waters before Beshiktash. I at least wanted to spend those horrible hours of waiting in the fresh air instead of Ibrahim's office, the pattern of whose carpet I already know by heart. I wanted to cruise outside Beshiktash for an hour, then go to Pera and await the orders in the palace there.

During that hour nothing came; I went to Pera; but hardly had I gulped down my lunch when Wellisch came rattling along and called me into the palace.

However, I went to Galata and from there took the yacht to Beshiktash.

In Yildiz, the capital of Wonderland, a surprise awaited me.

I was awaited by Ibrahim, Tahsin, and Aarif. The last-named gave me back the letter which I had addressed to the Sultan, its seal still unbroken. The Sultan, he said, wanted me to have the letter translated by my own confidential agent and then send it to him directly and sealed. The Sultan had named Wellisch for this; but the latter declared he was incapable of doing it, because he could not read or write Turkish.

I had to promise to turn in the translation by evening. But where was I to get a trustworthy translator that fast? Nevertheless I promised the somewhat embarrassed gentlemen to do my utmost. After all, it was a vote of no confidence that the Master was giving them.

Then another astounding thing happened. Tahsin told me by way of Ibrahim that the Sultan desired me to stop payment on the checks I had sent him. I didn't immediately understand what was meant by this. He couldn't possibly mean the £200 which I had returned to him for charitable purposes. Did he mean the three



letters of credit of one million each? Yes, that's what it was. He had mistaken these for checks, that is, he had thought that I had sent them in for purposes of bribery or pilfered them in some way. Naturally I wrote out the desired declaration that I had cancelled the three-million deposit again.

Then I went out in search of a reliable translator. Wellisch hesitantly recommended to me a young trainee in the consular service, Badi by name, a Sephardic Jew. Ibrahim had recommended to Wellisch the Turkish ministry official Bachor Effendi. I despatched Wellisch in a carriage to see Badi. Wolffsohn, whom I had asked to wait in our *mouche*, had gone for a sail. Rather nervously I stood on the dock of Beshiktash and looked for the *mouche*. Finally I took a barque with two pirates in order to go in search of my *mouche*. They rowed me almost up to the Leander tower, and then I espied my *mouche*. In my black frock-coat and top hat I stood up straight in the barque, in the hottest blaze of the sun, and made semaphor signals. But my Greek captain didn't notice me until he was back before Beshiktash.

Then I drove to the Golden Horn. In the streets of Pera we met young Badi, a handsome, intelligent, ragged-looking young man. Without telling him what I wanted of him I interrogated him—among other things, as to whether he was religious. Then I would have had him swear on a Bible that he would keep the secret. To my regret, however, he was not religious. So I had to settle for his word of honor. He made a good impression. I also took a look at his brother's little cotton-goods store, so as to get a picture of his family. I trusted him and took him along to the Hotel Pera Palace. And at that point it occurred to me that despite all the remarkable experiences I am having here, something much more fabulous is happening to this young man. His adventure is really out of the Arabian Nights. For him I am the foreign magician whom he meets unexpectedly and who brings him into contact with the Caliph.

But this unsuspecting young man took it with Oriental calm when at the Pera Palace I took his oath and pledge and let him in on the secret.

Then I let him work, with Wolffsohn watching over him. At about 9 o'clock I saw that he would not finish that night, and telegraphed Ibrahim that I wouldn't be coming.

It was midnight before Badi finished the translation of my letter, the first one perhaps that will get into the Sultan's hands unadulterated.

Following Wolffsohn's good advice I had the good youth translate his work back into French for me, and as he did so I noticed that he was sacrificing accuracy to an elegant Turkish. That had to be corrected, but could not be done that night.

We went to Therapia and got into thick fog until 2 a.m. That was another fairy-tale, like so many of the things we encounter here, but this time a sinister one.

These milky-white vapors that enveloped us prevented us even from recognizing the near-by coast. The uncomfortable trip took a very long time. Finally our yacht almost ploughed into the English stationary vessel—and we were in Therapia.

July 30, on board the "Konstantinos"

Early yesterday morning I continued working with the Sephardi Badi. I had him re-Frenchify his translation for me, and corrected his Oriental stylistic beauties, insisting on preserving my uglier clarity.

At the end, however, I had him append what might be the most important sentence: namely, if the Sultan desired me to reorganize his finances, I intended to start Turkish lessons immediately and hoped that after three months I would reach the point of being able to converse with him directly. That sentence I would not have entrusted to his translators.

Then Badi transcribed a fair copy of his translation with the utmost slowness.

It was late when he finished. I telegraphed my departure to Ibrahim. When I got there, he was already sitting at table with Aarif Bey and the Minister of the Civil List. They most amiably



made room for me. Good Ibrahim was *aux petits soins* [all attention] to me.

After lunch I handed my letter to Aarif Bey.

He and Ibrahim informed me in this connection that my explanation regarding the three million did not suffice His Majesty. The Sultan wished personally to tear up the "three checks in his possession." (?) Furthermore, I would have to make another written declaration that I had withdrawn the deposits, that no one could receive payment on them, and that I had no claim of any kind on anyone on the basis of the title to these three millions.

I wrote out the desired declaration once more, and in the very detailed wording that Ibrahim dictated to me.

Despite this, however, Aarif made a mistrustful face. He probably assumed I had decided simply to forgo the three million.

When he left to go to the Sultan, Ibrahim gave him—only now!—my *Philosophische Erzählungen* which I had asked to be presented to the Sultan in a sumptuous Turkish binding as long ago as last February.

When Aarif had gone, Ibrahim told me that the declaration I had written out would produce a good effect. "*Elle servira d'arme contre des adversaires* [It will serve as ammunition against the opposition]."

These mysterious words can only mean that Izzet and perhaps Ibrahim as well have been accused of having received some money from me, and that now their innocence has come to light.

Aarif went, came back again soon, and gave me an appointment for today.

Ibrahim had asked Wellisch what traveling expenses I had had. I most gratefully declined this semi-official presumption. I won't let myself be reimbursed for any expenses. I said I would accept only the hotel bill, because it was a distinction to stay here as the guest of His Majesty.

Then we spent the sunny afternoon cruising on the blue Bosphorus as far as the Leander tower, splashed past Scutari, then into the Golden Horn, and in the evening returned to Therapia.

\* \* \*

Today it is pouring rain. The yacht, my *pirate bus*,\* as Greenberg would say, is unpleasant in bad weather.

*Il faut avoir de la chance à Byzance, ou ne pas y être* [In Byzantium one must have luck, or not be there at all].

July 31, Therapia.

The unnerving negotiations continue. The ceremonial never changes.

At noon I drive in the state carriage from Beshiktash to Yildiz, where the blind beggars at the gate already know my *baksheesh*.

I go past servants, whose itching hands are folded on their bellies, to the ever-amiable Ibrahim on whom, nevertheless, I must be a great burden by now. Usually he goes to his office once a week, now he must come every day and stay into the night.

A fine Turkish luncheon of many courses is served. Then I die of boredom on the leather couch opposite Ibrahim.

It is a miracle that we still have something to talk about. Yesterday he told me about the *musée* [museum] salon at Yildiz which contained valuable porcelain things of many centuries; on Abdul Hamid's orders an inventory had been made, and in such a way that nothing can be stolen.

Then we talked about Jerusalem. Had I been to the Omar Mosque? No! He said he knew that the Jews did not set foot in it unless they were forced to do so. The next time I went there I ought to let myself be forced, he said with a smile.

Then he spoke about the wailing wall of the Jews—

At that moment Aarif Bey came back from the Sultan, with instructions to accompany me to the Grand Vizier.

The preliminary stages of any negotiation are terribly complicated and tire me far more than the negotiation itself.

The Grand Vizier seems to be a kind, good old person, although he is very shrewd.

He began by saying that the Sultan had been very satisfied with my two memoranda.

\* In English in the original.



(In the carriage the very likable Aarif Bey had told me that the Sultan had given orders to have my entire book translated immediately.)

Further, the Grand Vizier said he had been instructed to inform me that the Sultan was in principle inclined to go ahead with my propositions.

I made a low bow.

Then we got into a hazy, blurry, cigarette-smoke-enveloped coffee confab, which was supposed to constitute negotiations.

The whole thing was so nebulous that I have retained no definite points.

I mentioned the destitution of the Jews in Eastern Europe. In discussing the situation in Rumania the good Grand Vizier said ironically:

"That certainly shouldn't happen in civilized countries."

At this I remarked that this untenable situation—since I had no word from the Sultan—had caused me to establish contact with the English government through a Cabinet member and ask them whether they were willing to grant us colonization in Africa.

And yet, although we wouldn't need to pay England anything for it and, in fact, would probably receive great special privileges, we would prefer the expensive little area of Palestine. It constituted a symbol. The hearts of our people clung to it. This was a bit of sentimentality from which Turkey could derive great benefit.

The Grand Vizier remarked timidly that this might lead to difficulties with the Powers.

"I rely on your skill, Your Highness. Then, too, we ourselves have some influence here and there. Incidentally, in our present proposition we have left aside Jerusalem and all Holy Places. The land has temporal and spiritual character. Where it is spiritualized, we won't touch it. But why shouldn't the ordinary land be made arable in the ordinary way?"

"But Haifa," said His Highness, "also has strategic value."

"The strength that we shall bring into the country has strategic value, too."

"Yes, but actually you offer us very few benefits—1.6 mill. pounds, and for that we should make enemies of the Rouvier group which includes all the *gros bonnets* [big-wigs] of finance?"

"Since the Rouvier project remains unchanged even in your plan, perhaps the two operations could be separated, after all."

Only now did I understand what he had meant by separating the operations the first time. He wants to carry out the consolidation with Rouvier (*moyennant écus* [for a financial consideration]). After all, the advantage to the Turkish government was only £1.6 mill. at the most with me, too.

This is how we remained after some intricate talk back and forth.

*La nuit m'a porté conseil* [The night brought me counsel].

I excused myself from luncheon with Ibrahim and am sending the following letter to the Sultan: \*

July 31, 1902

Sire:

I have the honor to submit the following considerations to Y.I.M.

The benevolence with which I am treated by Y.I.M. has touched me deeply. I see that I am no longer regarded as a foreign negotiator but as a devoted man in whom confidence is placed.

It would be on my conscience if I did not reply with complete frankness. I am, then, going to submit to Y.I.M. without the slightest reservation all that I am able and willing to do with the cooperation of my friends.

Here is an even better proposal than the one I had formulated at Y.I.M.'s desire.

We are ready to allow the Imp. govt. to share in the financial profits that might be derived from the consolidation project. The proposal would be as follows.

We accept in full the conditions already accepted by M. Rouvier's group.

\* In French in the original.



The Imp. govt. will put 32 millions of new obligations at our disposal to carry out the consolidation, in exchange for the old bonds.

We will pay the Imp. Treasury the sum of 1,600,000 pounds.

From the profit we make in the course of the whole transaction there will first be deducted the sum of 1,600,000 pounds. The remainder will be divided equally between the Imp. Treasury and us.

If, by the opposition of M. Rouvier's group or by other unforeseen circumstances, the consolidation becomes impossible with the maximum sacrifice on our part of 1,600,000, we are free to withdraw from the undertaking.

But in that case we shall carry out the colonization project by itself, while putting the sum of 1,600,000 pounds at the disposal of the Imp. Treasury.

It is understood that we should need the Imp. govt.'s assistance for the consolidation to the extent that it would declare to M. Rouvier's group that it would be willing to carry out the consolidation only through our agency or not at all.

I have, Sire, the honor to be Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant,

Dr. Th. H.

July 31, evening

On my brigantine "Konstantinos," outside Beshiktash, cruising in the wonderful hues of evening.

Today came the decision, short and sharp like a last shot.

When I arrived outside Beshiktash at noon, I immediately sent Wellisch up with my letter to the Sultan.

He had not been gone long and I was just about to have our "Konstantinos" steam off and to lie down for an afternoon nap when I caught sight of Ibrahim's servant on the gangway. Wellisch, too, came back, saying that I should come to the Palace immediately.

Cursing, I changed my clothes in the cabin in the depths, and again drove up the Imperial Mountain in my heavy black frock-coat, overcoat, and top hat.

Ibrahim greeted me sweetly, saying that presumably I hadn't liked the food. But I referred him to the letter that I had written for H.M. in my *cabinet de travail flottant* [floating study].

Ibrahim immediately sent someone after Aarif Bey and had my letter forwarded to H.M.

I hadn't had to sweat an excessive length of time and stare like a prisoner at the little piece of heaven, the bit of foliage, and the corner of white Kiosk out there when Aarif came back from H.M. with a somewhat cruelly rigid expression. He brought back my letter, torn open and with the seal melted off.

H.M. had had the Grand Vizier give him a report and said that I should come round tomorrow morning after the *selamlik* and say good-bye, after which I could leave tomorrow evening.

After yesterday's dulcet tones this almost sounded like a fall from favor. It wasn't clear whether H.M. would grant me a farewell audience. Apparently not; for Aarif further said that I should send the translation of my letter this very day, for after tomorrow's *selamlik* Constans, who had returned, and other ambassadors were to be received.

So Constans is back. That is it, in a nut-shell.\* I can imagine how the Rouvier machinery has been functioning against me during this week of my much-noticed presence.

I took the blow in good part, made some friendly remarks to the two executioners, and thought I saw a little gleam of joy in Ibrahim's eyes.

Earlier, while I was waiting, he had spoken about my activities. Zionism seemed to be the most important thing to me?

Yes indeed, I said.

"*C'est très noble* [That's very noble]!" he said.

In Byzantium you never know.

\* Translator's Note: . . . *des Pudels Kern* (the poodle's core), from Goethe's *Faust*, Part I.



I left for Beshiktash, and Badi sat down in the cabin of our brigatine and translated.

While he was doing this and then calligraphed a clean copy, my *pirate bus*\* was dallying around in the magnificent harbor. At 6 o'clock I was outside Beshiktash again and sent Wellisch up; but he had to wait for almost an hour, for Ibrahim had gone out.

Accidentally? Intentionally? In any case, it will be hard for H.M. to devote himself to such work this very day. And tomorrow I leave, and the field will be clear again for Rouvier.

\* \* \*

Yet I am not dissatisfied with this turn of events.

This is the way I understand it: they are going to make the consolidation with R., and later they will get back to my 1.6, when they need money again or want to use me to scare someone.

I think that H.M. has now found out for the first time what I want, and he declared himself as not quite disinclined.

But his decisions are a thousand years old.

Therapia, the same evening

My sensing that the Grand Vizier would now all the more urge the acceptance of the Rouvier project was correct, and my letter of this morning parried the blow—too late.

\* \* \*

Two moods may be recorded as ever-recurring ones.

The anxiety at Yildiz, which increases in the hours of waiting.

Then, the feeling while speaking with them that they aren't really serious about it after all. They are like sea foam. Only their expressions are serious, not their intentions.

And it kept occurring to me suddenly while deep in conversation: Why, all of that is just talk. They want nothing in reality.

\* In English in the original.

August 1, on board the little "Konstantinos"

Last voyage from Therapia to Beshiktash.

Probably the most beautiful morning since we've been here. Never before have the magic hues of the Bosphorus been so sweet and soft.

*Je m'en vais bredouille* [I'm leaving empty-handed].

The idlers of the diplomatic corps will rejoice, for I have been a thorn in their flesh.

Last night I heard from my balcony what they were saying on the terrace.

The fat Spanish ambassador asked:

*"Qui est donc ce monsieur à la grande barbe noire* [Who is that man with the big black beard, anyway]?"

Soft whispering. I stepped back from the edge of the balcony. Later I overheard the Belgian ambassador saying, evidently still as part of this conversation:

*"Je n'aime pas les X, les inconnus* [I don't like the X's, the unknowns]."

And he explained to his intelligent audience "what an X in mathematics is." Several among them might have heard it for the first time.

Today I am probably one of the 500 best-known men in the world. *Ce qui n'empêche pas* [Which doesn't prevent] the Belgian ambassador from regarding me as an *inconnu*.

In the eyes of diplomatic Therapia, the tennis players, gluttons, and lazybones, I am an adventurer of some sort.

And what if one were to ask: *"Qu'est ce que c'est que l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne* [What is the Spanish ambassador]?"

In 300 years a Spanish ambassador hasn't even had the very slightest function here. He hasn't even been needed for birthday congratulations.

A Belgian ambassador has never had any *raison d'être* [reason for existence] whatever.

Such a man eats up the tax money of poor people from the Borinage in paradise-like Therapia, hangs around, tells stories



and listens to them. And such a bloated frog looks down his nose at the bearer of a cause which means relief to millions of people, an increase in culture, and progress of a high order.

This morning, packed, pressed *baksheeshes* in the fabulously countless hands, checked the hotel bill (which, by the manager's admission, had been greatly jacked up)—and off!

Adieu, beautiful Bosphorus!

\* \* \*

The question remains why H.M. made me come.

Could it be because of that declaration about the 3 million francs?

Or did he at the last moment get scared of the returning frightful *forban* [freebooter] Constans?

August 2, aboard my *pirate bus*\*

Once again, the last trip from Therapia to Beshiktash.

I couldn't get away yesterday.

Punctually yesterday morning I entered Ibrahim's office. He hadn't arrived yet. At 11 o'clock he came. He sent for Aarif. I used these minutes to give him a beautiful pair of studs as a souvenir.

Then Aarif appeared, and him I gave a pearl stick-pin as a farewell present. Both received their presents graciously.

While Aarif was on his way to the Caliph, I carried on the pleasantries of parting with Ibrahim. I was scheduled to leave on the Orient Express at 1:50.

Ibrahim said he didn't want to be indiscreet, but he understood that I had not met with success.

I said that I was not yet acquainted with H.M.'s decision.

At this Ibrahim said that I mustn't doubt H.M.'s good intentions, even if he didn't come to an agreement with me. It was true that he was an absolute ruler, but he could by no means do whatever he wanted.

\* In English in the original.

"I do understand," I said, "that there is such a thing as the interest of the state which must be observed above all."

"Yes," confirmed Ibrahim, "and for you personally H.M. has a great deal of respect and sympathy. What you want to do for your people is very noble. *Le sionnisme est très noble* [Zionism is very noble]."

I thanked him and said that I would always remain a friend of Turkey and an adherent of this pro-Jewish Sultan. But the misery of our people in Eastern Europe did not permit us to wait any longer. I said I had already established contact with the English government and submitted to a Cabinet member, Lord James of Hereford, my proposals for the establishment of a Jewish colony in Africa. England required no financial sacrifices whatever from us and was more likely even to smooth our path in every way.

Ibrahim found this understandable and thought that if the Sultan saw the success of our colonization in Africa, he would be more inclined to do something with us too.

I demurred that it might be too late then, when we had already made big investments in another place.

The conversation then turned to philo-Semitic remarks. Ibrahim told me about a Christian play called *Marchand de Venise* [The Merchant of Venice]. Maybe I knew it. In it there was a Jewish usurer who wanted to cut a piece of flesh out of a Christian's chest. This had been played at the Yildiz theatre, with an Italian actor—whatever was his name?

"Salvini-Rossi?" I helped him along.

"Rossi!" said Ibrahim, pleased, and added: "You see, we don't have any of that in our country. We have no theatre. Therefore no such inflammatory play can be presented here either."

Meanwhile a mysterious servant appeared. The Sultan asked me whether I could delay my departure until evening.

Certainly, if H.M. desired it.

Then Aarif came, with an inscrutable expression, and asked me to extend my stay by a whole day, i.e., till *this* evening.

I promised to do so. But the two gentlemen no longer looked as happy as they had up to then. Why?



At the exit I whispered to Wolffsohn to make a sad face.

Izzet was just driving up; I didn't see him until he greeted me. He did so with a most amicable grin—evidently anticipating my departure.

At Beshiktash Constans was landing from his yacht when I left my state carriage. From his quick, penetrating glance I could tell that he guessed who I was. His air was that of a victor. He saw me depart before the *selamlık*, he still didn't know that H.M. had asked me to stay.

\* \* \*

But what is all this supposed to mean?

Could it be that my letter of two days ago hit the bull's-eye?

\* \* \*

Wolffsohn had said that it would be better to make the colonization separately and without the consolidation. This is not my view. For this way I may be able to do without the help of those wretches who let me languish for seven years.

\* \* \*

In the evening I found waiting for me at Therapia the code telegram from Greenberg which had come to an accommodation address; he informed me that he had a sealed private letter from Lord Rothschild for me.

I immediately despatched Wellisch for Constantinople on the *mouche* with this telegram:

*Open and wire.\**

\* \* \*

August 3

On a slow train known as the "Conventionnel," somewhere in Bulgaria, outside Phillipopolis.

\* \* \*

\* In English in the original.

So here I am, escaped again from the murderers' den and the robbers' country.

Yesterday had the usual beginning.

When I arrived outside Beshiktash, Wellisch had no reply from Greenberg as yet. Nor did it come during the day. Who knows whether the waters would have flowed differently if I had had it?

I changed my clothes again on the brigantine "Konstantinos" and drove up to Yildiz.

At Ibrahim's I had to wait only one hour before Tahsin came. I recognized at once that during the night the Yildiz gremlins had been here again and destroyed my work.

Again the old childish claptrap about the *sujétion ottomane* [Ottoman citizenship] and the *service militaire* and the *établissement des israelites "d'une manière dispersée"* [the settling of the Israelites "in scattered form"]—as Ibrahim, the *Drogman du Divan Impérial* [Dragoman of the Imperial Divan], puts it—was warmed up.

My counter-proposal regarding consolidation was hardly brought up. The Yildiz gang must have received a tremendous amount of money there.

Actually, Wellisch had already given me the news of the day on the *mouche*: Big boom in Turkish securities. A certain Zander, director of the Anatolian railroads, is said to have purchased 300,000 *consolidés* [consols]!

I gathered from the way Tahsin and Ibrahim acted that the Sultan's *irade*, in confirmation of the government's *mazbata*, had already been issued.

Constans therefore had good reason to be triumphant.

I raised the question with Tahsin of who would take care of installing the immigrants. Would the government? Or would the creation of a colonization company be permitted?

He was going to let the Sultan decide that.

He left and we went to lunch.

Another loathsome meal with those innumerable barbaric dishes which, according to the Oriental custom, have to be forced down with exclamations of delight. Veritable snake food. All these



days while Their Excellencies were eating everything with the same cutlery from one plate, I have permitted myself the fun of putting my knife and fork on my plate after each course, whereupon the servants promptly changed my setting. Ten or twelve times in all. This might have instilled even more respect in the menials and their masters than my royal gratuities.

Tahsin returned. The Sultan assured me of his friendship and asked me, first, to accept a subvention for the *N. Fr. Pr.*, second, to let him know what my expenses had been.

*Re One* I refused outright. That was absolutely out of the question.

*Re Two* I begged him not to be offended if I did not accept. I regarded myself as sufficiently played host to, since he was paying my hotel bill. If he insisted on making me a present, let it be a book or some other trifle of no value.

Meanwhile we were drinking coffee. It struck me that Tahsin had his own coffee brought to him in his own cup. These assassins evidently don't trust one another out of sight.

I also had the brief enjoyment of seeing Izzet associating with Tahsin in Ibrahim's office. Izzet was dictating something with a cruel air, and Tahsin was writing it down with a pinched expression.

Tahsin left and then came back.

He brought me a message from the Sultan which Ibrahim dictated to me in translation, whereupon I had to acknowledge its receipt.

Here it is:\*

Their Excellencies Tahsin Bey, H.I.M.'s First Secretary, and Ibrahim Bey, Dragoman of the Imperial Divan, have done me the honor of transmitting the following communication to me:

"The Israelites can be received and settled in the Ottoman Empire under the condition that they be installed, not together, that is, dispersed, in the places adjudged suitable by the government, and that their numbers be fixed in advance by the government. They will be invested with Ottoman citizenship and charged

\* In French in the original.

with all the civic duties, including military service, as well as being subject to all the laws of the land like Ottomans."

I have very respectfully taken cognizance of this communication, express my deep gratitude to His Imperial Majesty for it, and shall consult with my friends about it.

Yildiz Kiosk, August 2, 1902

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

The supplementary slip (probably suppressed by Tahsin):\*

Yildiz, August 2, 1902

I permit myself to add the question if H.I.M. still wants me to go ahead with the project of consolidation, apart from colonization, on the following basis:

Issuance of £32 mill.

All the accruing profits to be divided between the Treasury and my friends.—

My receipt was again retranslated by Ibrahim for the Sultan.

But while he was calligraphing on his knee, it occurred to me that my conditions of colonization had been used by the Yildiz gang to fight against me, or rather, to clear the ground for Rouvier. To cut through their net as well as to see clearly whether the Sultan had used me only to extort concessions from Rouvier at the last moment, I wrote an additional question on a second slip.

Ibrahim raised his eyebrows. From this I could tell that he too must be in on the Rouvier deal.

Prudently enough, however, he made no objection, but docilely copied what I had written.

However, he didn't close the letter to the Sultan or affix a seal, but had Tahsin called and handed him the additional note which the Sultan surely didn't get to see.

Of course, I don't know if the result would have been different if I had sent the supplementary note in a direct letter to the Sultan.

\* In French in the original.



While Tahsin was with the Sultan, Ibrahim explained to me how hard it was to say no to the Rouvier people at this point. It was like whist. The player who reflects too long forfeits the right to turn over the choice of trumps to his partner.

Oh yes, robber whist.

The government, Ibrahim continued, would do itself out of all credit if it now said no.

The credit of the Turkish government!

And wasn't that the case as long as a week ago?

But I put a good face on the bad business of these crooks.

Ibrahim pulled out a red-silk money bag, showed me—the Chief Master of Ceremonies of H.M. the Caliph!—that the wax seal was intact, and urgently requested me in the name of the Sultan to accept the purse. H.M. *serait confus* [would be embarrassed] if I didn't at least accept reimbursement for my cash expenses. He would be offended by it, etc. However, H.M. reserved the right *de vous faire un cadeau qui serait digne de vous* [to make you a present worthy of you].

I accepted the purse *pour mes pauvres* [for my poor].

At least I can put a small sum into our propaganda treasury. I still don't know how much is in the bag. I won't open it until I get to Vienna.

Then the last *salaams*, and I left the den of Ali Baba and the forty thieves.

\* \* \*

I believe that if I succeed in founding the Jewish Eastern Company with Rothschild's help, H.M. will change his tune toward me. That would make me a neighbor with whom one has to be on good terms.

August 4

Still on the "Conventionnel," somewhere in Hungary.

\* \* \*

When you rattle through the sleepless hot night like this, you keep reviewing and revising the whole thing.

What mistakes have I made this time? Instead of taking the consolidation only as a pretext for colonization, hadn't I better simply make some business transactions for the Sultan which would show him my greater honesty? I could have telegraphed Rothschild, or sent someone to see Morgan.

\* \* \*

The Turks' way of negotiating is childish, and that is why one isn't at one's best when dealing with them. This again gives them an advantage.

\* \* \*

More *cocasse* [droll] details about my friend Ibrahim occur to me.

To the extent that a Yildiz courtier can be a better type of person, he is one. I do have a certain liking for him.

His ignorance is delicious, but I believe that in this respect he is like many European masters of ceremonies.

He spoke, among other things, about the love of music of the Viennese: Vienna was the city of music. I was pleased for a moment. I thought that he was saying something sensible.

"*Oui, partout ces musiques militaires* [Yes, those military bands everywhere]!" he added.

\* \* \*

When on the last day I had the Sultan asked through Tahsin how he envisaged the settlement "*d'une manière dispersée* [in a scattered form]," whether the government would give the people the funds, or whether it would be permissible to set up an organization, i.e., a company, he sent me the reply that this was only a question of detail of implementation.

If there is not concealed behind this the desire to break off the negotiations for this time, it is a piece of asininity, pure and simple.

\* \* \*



Still, I believe that things are not in a bad way.

They have grown accustomed in Yildiz and the Porte to looking upon me as someone interested in the vilayet of Beirut. Some day—when they are *dans la dèche* [reduced to beggary], as the Jew Daoud Effendi told me as early as 1896—they will suddenly send for me in their need, and throw the thing in my lap.

The only question is when that moment will come.

I believe that I can greatly expedite it if I manage, with the help of Lord Rothschild or the English government, to create the Jewish Eastern Company.

This must be my next task now.

Then I would be a serious but friendly neighbor to the sanjak of Jerusalem, which I shall somehow acquire at the first opportunity, as the Bulgarians did with Eastern Rumelia.

\* \* \*

If Rothschild's wire today amounts to a refusal, I shall try to approach Chamberlain.

August 5, on the train, between Attnang and Aussee

The mystery of Rothschild's letter, which I had already been advised of at Constantinople and for whose contents I have been waiting for four days now, sending ever more urgent telegrams, has now been revealed.

This morning I received a telegraphic summary from Greenberg.

There is only one word for it: Rubbish!

I won't learn the text until I reach Aussee, and I shall word my reply—provided I make one at all—accordingly.

I see this much even now: I shall remain thrown on my own resources, now as before.

Now I want to try the English plan directly through Chamberlain. To be sure, there is little hope that the English government will do anything with us if we don't have Rothschild on our side. I will try to approach Chamberlain through Greenberg. Of all my

helpers Greenberg has, during the past year, been the most efficient by far.

\* \* \*

Even if nothing can be done with Chamberlain, I will make an attempt in Italy.

Ehrenpreis, the Rabbi of Sofia, told me while traveling part of the way with me on the train that the King of Italy has asked the Italian attaché Polacco, a Jew and formerly stationed in Sofia, about our movement. Naturally the Jew Polacco knew less about it than the king. But this young little king who has as yet done nothing to become immortal\* and has interests in the Mediterranean, could perhaps be used in some way. *A creuser* [to be explored]!

Perhaps one can get to him through Lombroso?

\* \* \*

This political-financial chapter on the Bosphorus in which I almost became a figure is really quite a curious bit of history.

The French politicians Constans and Rouvier—*les républicains d'affaires* [the republicans of business]!—made a deal for their own pockets; the Germans, however, for the Empire. For the consolidation, from which the Constans-Rouvier company will make stock-exchange profits, will release Turkish revenues which guarantee the Bagdad railroad; and that is German influence. Thus German policy has paid the representatives of France a gratuity out of the Sultan's pocket for having supported interests which every French patriot must fight.

And this outfit looks down on us Jews.

August 12, Alt-Aussee

Lord Rothschild's letter is empty, evasive verbiage. Nevertheless, upon the advice of prudent Greenberg I am giving him the following friendly reply:

\* Translator's Note: ". . . nichts für die Unsterblichkeit getan . . ."—a quotation from Schiller's *Don Carlos*, Act II.



Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is my first chance after my return from Constantinople to answer your letter.

Let me confess to you that your reply is not entirely what I had expected.

Oh, if you only had some inkling of the boundless distress of our honest poor people—I am not talking of *shnorrers* [beggars] and rabble—you would listen to me better. I am enclosing a random newspaper clipping. I could send you such clippings every day, from all sorts of countries.

There is no counting the heart-breaking letters from workers' groups, business people, academically trained men, that I receive. I must answer with a sigh: I cannot help you!

People of this kind want no handouts of money—if they did, they would not turn to me—but opportunities for work and an existence safeguarded from persecution. Charitable institutions cannot offer them this anywhere.

For this reason I am glad at least to gather from your letter that you are beginning to see our cause from a higher point of view than the merely charitable one. If I am not mistaken in this, I would regard it as good fortune for the cause if you were willing to take over, or at least influence, the administration of the Hirsch Fund.

I will tell you confidentially—the way I am speaking to you in general—that it is to be ascribed only to my influence if the indignation of the desperate poor at the I.C.A. has not hitherto led to public scandals.

I shall be very pleased if you see fit to inform me about your intentions. Your communications will remain as secret as you yourself desire. Insofar as this is compatible with our Zionist principles, I shall also be glad to place my modest powers at your disposal—if only to make sure that my organizations do not inadvertently work at cross purposes with you in some deserving enterprise.

The recognition that you accord to my modest activities, which unfortunately are still unsuccessful, has pleased me greatly, coming as it does from a master so much tested in good works.

In this connection the words of a German epigrammatist have just occurred to me:

*Wir wollen weniger gelobt  
Und mehr gelesen sein!*

[We'd rather be praised less  
and read more!]\*

I wish that there were no longer any discussion of me and that our poor people were helped instead.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,  
Herzl.

August 22, Alt-Aussee

Another letter of amicable opposition from Lord Rothschild, dated August 18, to which I am replying as follows:

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is to acknowledge, with thanks, your letter of friendly opposition of the 18th. I cannot agree that the Jewish commonwealth which I would like to set up will have to be small, orthodox, and illiberal. I worked for three years on a coherent reply to this and similar misgivings.

It has turned into a book with the title *Altneuland* [Old-New-land] which will appear in a few weeks; you shall be among the first to whom I shall send it.

There is just one thing I would like to say now. Were the founders of the states which now are great mightier, cleverer, better educated, wealthier than we Jews of today? Poor shepherds and huntsmen have founded communities which later became states. In our own time, Greeks, Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgarians have established themselves—and should *we* be incapable of doing so?

Our race is more efficient in everything than most other peoples

\* Translator's Note: The conclusion (misquoted) of G. E. Lessing's four-line epigram to his readers.



of the earth. This, in fact, is the cause of the great hatred. We have just had no self-confidence up to now. Our moral misery will be at an end on the day when we believe in ourselves. Naturally there will always be fights and difficulties, internal and external ones. But what country, what state does not have them? And we shall always produce the men to grapple with these difficulties.

The coming into being of the Jewish commonwealth, the Jewish colony—call it what you will at the beginning—will not be regarded by the Powers with repugnance or mistrust. For this I have much and sufficient proof.

## Book Thirteen

August 22, 1902

(Wedding anniversary of my parents,  
celebrated for the first time  
without my good father)



(Continuation of the letter to Rothschild:)

In particular, I am on the best of terms with the Turkish government. It is true that recently I had it published in the Zionist papers that my last trip to Constantinople did not lead to any result; I could have concealed this, but I had my reasons for this disclosure.

The main thing, you see, is that I enjoy the Sultan's confidence to a rare degree. This in itself is a strange phenomenon, considering that he has been told so many bad and stupid things about me—that I want to become King of Palestine, and all that sort of nonsense. I, however, have spoken to him with absolute frankness and simplicity, not as with a tyrant before whom one trembles, but as with a human being with human feelings, and I believe that this has won him. It may also have been the fact that he has convinced himself on various occasions that I am not on the lookout for money. Imagine, Milord—I am telling you this, like everything else, in the strictest confidence—quite some time ago he offered me tremendous business opportunities and concessions which a lot of people would probably run their legs off to get. I account for this to myself by saying that he is satisfied that I would not cheat him, and in this he is right.

My aversion to various deals which have been proposed by him (by him!) is, to be sure, not just that of a man of letters. Their execution, you see, contains the danger that my financial helpers might not be able to serve him as fairly as I require for my political purposes and for the preservation of his gratitude and confidence. Maybe in so thinking I have made mistakes born of timidity.

The latest proposal he made me was to handle the conversion for him which he entrusted to Rouvier with the greatest reluctance.

I am now wondering whether I shouldn't have informed you of this. With you I would certainly have been sure of the most impeccable correctness. Was this a blunder? Please tell me your view quite straightforwardly. From your reply I shall learn how to behave in a similar situation, which may recur today or tomorrow.

What you tell me about the Hirsch Fund is of interest to me. I



am only afraid that there will again be a hitch in the execution when the plan is carried out. But we shall see. I think you ought to join the administration in order to bring about a change.

Sincerely and respectfully yours,  
Herzl.

August 23, Alt-Aussee

Letter to Crespi, whom I now want to get rid of at last, since he has been a financial burden on us for a long time.

Sent off after long deliberation on August 26, 1902:\*

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your kind letters of the 17th and 20th. I am very sorry not to have seen you either at Constantinople or at Aussee when you came back from Paris. Yet I had asked M. de D. to advise you of my return. It was probably too late.

Here, then, is what I should like to tell you. I did not achieve any results and do not want to wait any longer. More accurately: I cannot wait.

Knowing your good feeling for me and above all your discretion, I shall tell you confidentially what I expect to do. I shall try to obtain the territories necessary for our colonization in one of the English possessions. My last trip to London already had this aim.

Personally I preserve all my liking for 363, for he has been as charming as can be to me. If I have an opportunity of being of service to him, I shall always take it. But 401 was quite different. Who have been the harmful influences I don't know. Probably the same ones who are slowly ruining him.

I am losing a chance with him, perhaps my last one. 401 could have been his salvation.

You will understand, dear sir, that under these circumstances our business affiliation has also become pointless. I was going to tell you this upon your return from Paris and inform you at the

\* In French in the original.

same time that I shall continue to pay you your monthly stipend until October.

It goes without saying that I shall always be glad to have personal news from you, and I beg you to remember me kindly.

With friendly greetings,

Yours devotedly,  
Herzl.

\* \* \*

Letter to Mme. de Korvin-Piatrovska:

Dear Madame:

My dear and respected friend Attorney Yasinovski writes me about your kindness in interesting the Ministry of the Interior in our cause. Perhaps you could induce His Excellency to obtain an audience for me with H.M. the Czar quite soon.

Maybe the Czar still remembers me. A few years ago I had the privilege of transmitting to him a detailed memorandum on Zionism, for which H.M. conveyed his thanks to me through H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Baden. Later the Czarina's brother, H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Hesse, wanted to introduce me at Darmstadt, but the Czar happened to be indisposed.

During the Peace Conference at The Hague I once had occasion to act for the Czar's interests, and this was reported to H.M. by Ambassador von Stahl, as I was informed by Councillor-of-State von Bloch, since deceased.

Proof of this must still be in the Hague files.

Also, a Grand Duke once had the kindness of favorably mentioning my endeavors to the Czar.

The purpose of the audience would be to request H.M.'s good will for our movement. It would make the greatest impression, and would in particular be a salutary stimulant for our young people, who so easily go astray politically, as well as encouragement to persevere with the Zionist ideal.



Please be assured of my most heart-felt gratitude, my dear madame, for everything you do for our great cause.

Very faithfully yours,  
Th. Herzl.

September 22, Vienna

Letter for Chamberlain:

My dear Mr. Greenberg:

This is to acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your telegraphic communication that Mr. Chamberlain is willing to grant me an interview.

I can understand that Mr. Chamberlain wishes to define the limits of this interview in advance. On the other hand, at this moment when I am still completely ignorant of Mr. Chamberlain's point of view, there are some difficulties in finding out those points that he might be interested in knowing more about.

There is the danger of tiring a busy man's patience with pointless remarks before we get to the heart of the matter. In conversation, however, one clears a path for oneself through the underbrush in five minutes.

Nevertheless I will preface things with a brief *aperçu* [remark]. As the recognized leader of the Zionist movement in all countries I have the opportunity of not only having a comprehensive view of Jewish migration of the present and the immediate future, but also of influencing it somewhat. To begin with, three to four hundred thousand people will be involved.

It is a problem that does not involve only *alien paupers*\* and does not concern only the countries of Eastern Europe. For England the matter has gained a certain timeliness through the *alien immigration*,\* which, as we know, led to the appointment of a commission. I don't regard the question which this commission is

\* In English in the original.

to deal with as burning yet and believe that the commission will produce either a few regulations of secondary importance or nothing whatever.

But should the English government wish to look more closely into my propositions, the first task would be to give the entire matter an inconspicuous character. A sufficient explanation for the outside will be the draining off of immigrants who might give rise to friction or even economic disturbances in some parts of London and England.

But in reality I mean more than this. I should like to interest Mr. Chamberlain in a settlement of the Jews on a major scale in the British possessions. It would be much too early to go into details of implementation now. The preliminary question is whether I can make him well disposed to the cause in principle. Like a merchant applying for credit I will open all books to him and tell him unreservedly how we stand, what we need, and what we can do.

Should he then find that he will become an augmentor of the British Empire if he helps push our propositions through, I shall give him the details of implementation in oral discussion, and he can even then modify, improve, or reject them.

Mr. Chamberlain may be assured of my discretion under all circumstances.

Sincerely yours,  
Herzl.

In addition to that I am writing Greenberg a few less formal private lines.

September 24, Vienna

Crespi is and remains a funny rogue, and the Orient is always amusing.

Now at last he has managed a reply to his dismissal. He will remain a Zionist *quand même* [just the same]. He reproaches me for



my lack of courage. He wants to go on fighting, "undaunted," as the Austrian politicians say, even though I don't pay him every month.

An enthusiast. *Et puis ça ne lui coûte que des lettres* [And it costs him nothing but letters].

September 27, Vienna

It is one of the wondrous ironies of my life that I as an old warrior now have to defend the *N. Fr. Pr.* against the newly founded *Die Zeit*.

It is on Zionism that the *N. Fr. Pr.* has done the worst job of suppression in its existence—and now Benedikt asks me to do my best to bring the competition to its knees.

For tomorrow's paper I am supposed to contribute the *feuilleton* and an editorial!

October 1, Vienna

Yesterday had another strolling conversation with Benedikt.

"*Quantum mutatus ab illo* [How different from his former self]."\* I told him what point the movement has now reached: Sultan, Royal Commission, Russia, etc. He was very much surprised by this and said he was "beginning to believe in it."

October 5

Letter to the Grand Duke of Baden:

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,  
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

I herewith permit myself most respectfully to present to Your Royal Highness my new book *Altneuland*.

It is a fable which, as it were, I am telling by the camp-fires to keep up the good spirits of my poor people while they are on the march.

\* Translator's Note: From Virgil's *Aeneid*, II, 274.

To hold out is everything.

The book deals with a new society. I believe that all nations are ever on the road to a new society. Perhaps this latent seriousness in my fable will arouse the sympathy of the wise prince whom I venerate so warmly and gratefully.

I remain

Your Royal Highness' respectful servant,  
Dr. Th. H.

\* \* \*

October 5

Dear Lord Rothschild:

In my last letter, receipt of which you have not acknowledged as yet, I promised you my book *Altneuland*. I am sending it to you today.

There will, of course, be stupid people who, because I have chosen the *form* of a Utopia which has been used by Plato and Thomas More, will declare the *cause* to be a Utopia. I fear no such misunderstanding in your case.

Nor will you blame me too much for the small but well-deserved rap on the knuckles which I give to your Viennese cousin.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,  
Herzl.

October 5

To Phillip Eulenburg at Liebenberg:

Your Highness:

I am having my publisher send Your Highness my new book *Altneuland*.



Kindly regard this as a token of the great and sincere veneration with which I ever remain

Your obedient servant  
Th. Herzl.

\* \* \*

To Court-Marshall Eulenburg:

Your Excellency:

I take the liberty of presenting herewith my new book *Altneuland* with the request to transmit it to the Kaiser when the opportunity offers.

This will, I hope, bring back to H.M. not unpleasant memories of his Palestinian journey of the year 1898.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect,

Your obedient servant,  
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

\* \* \*

To Bülow:

Your Excellency:

I am having my publisher send Your Excellency my new book *Altneuland*. Please be good enough to accept it as a token of my constant veneration.

An Imperial Chancellor, to be sure, has no chance to do any reading.

May I therefore briefly state the contents. In form it is a Utopia, in subject matter it is not. In fact, I wrote the Utopia only to show that it is none. The traveler to the Orient of 1898 will recognize many things in it. Also, it deals with a future society—not only that of the Jews. I don't know if this society will really be like that, but it is more likely to exist than the famous state of the future which Richter in his blind zeal is demolishing.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect,

Your obedient servant,  
Theodor Herzl.

October 20, London, morning

Again bolted from the office like a schoolboy. At this moment they don't even know that I'm gone. The *feuilleton* for yesterday, Sunday, I wrote on Friday and didn't send it to the office until Saturday evening.

In order to make my "Master" (drama) more favorably disposed toward me, I flashed an interview with Chamberlain before his eyes in my farewell letter which is to be delivered to him today.

He is to telegraph me here whether it is all right with him. This would at the same time be the pardon for my slipping away and make my return easier for me.

En route I often conversed (mentally) with Chamberlain.

I envisage the following as an introduction:

"You are accustomed to see great historical questions suddenly rise before you." \*

Actually, such a conference cannot really be calculated. Everything is inspiration, disposition of the moment, presence of mind.

October 21, London

There has been no wire from Benedikt. An indication of, or the prelude to, the break, that is, my job quitting me.\*\*

In any case, it is making me very nervous. After all, my livelihood is at stake. I will try to write a *feuilleton* today by way of compensation for my trip, since I am not to see Chamberlain until tomorrow.

\* In English in the original.

\*\* Translator's Note: Herzl's phrase, "*meines Gegangenwerdens*," is a bit of grim humor.



October 22, London, in the forenoon

Today I am to have the appointment with the great Joe.

Meanwhile, to placate my bread-givers, I am writing a *feuilleton*, "October Evening in London."

It is a miserable piece, but considering the things going round in my head, it is an extraordinary performance.

It reminds me of how, seven years ago, while writing *The Jewish State*, I took down "stormy sessions" at the Palais Bourbon and telegraphed thousands of words about them.

October 23, London

Talked yesterday with the famous master of England, Joe Chamberlain. One hour. I expounded everything I had intended to bring up, and he was a good listener.

Unfortunately my voice trembled at first, which greatly annoyed me while I was speaking.

After a few minutes, however, things improved and I talked calmly and incisively, to the extent that my rough-and-ready English permits it.

Addressing myself to Joe Chamberlain's motionless mask, I presented the whole Jewish question as I understand it and wish to solve it. My relations with Turkey, etc.

"I am in negociation with the Sultan," I said. "But you know what turkish negociations are. If you want to buy a carpet, first you must drink half a dozen cups of coffee and smoke a hundred cigarettes; then you discuss family stories, and from time to time you speak again a few words about the carpet. Now I have time to negociate, but my people has not. They are starving in the pale. I must bring them an immediate help." Etc.\*

At the "carpet" story the mask laughed.

Then I came to speak about the territory which I wanted from England: Cyprus, El Arish, and the Sinai Peninsula.

\* Translator's Note: Original text. Herzl's English and orthography have been retained.

He began by saying that he could speak only about Cyprus. The rest was not his concern but that of the Foreign Office. But as to Cyprus, this was how matters stood: Greeks and Moslems lived there, and he could not crowd them out for the sake of new immigrants. Rather, it was his duty to stand by them. Now if the Greeks—perhaps with the support of Greece and Russia—were to resist Jewish immigration, there would be real difficulties. Personally, he had nothing against the Jews; on the contrary. And if by chance he were to have a drop of Jewish blood in his veins, he would be proud of it. But *voilà* [behold], he didn't have a drop.

However, he was prepared to help if he could; he liked the Zionist idea, etc.

In fact, if I could show him a spot in the English possessions where there were no white people as yet, we could talk about that.

In Cyprus there would be a *trades-union*\* problem, like the one here in the East End, which would arise from the influx of foreign workmen.

(I am reproducing his statements in somewhat disjointed form, the way they come back to me. He denied the existence of anti-Semitism in England. Perhaps there would be restrictive legislation if Jewish immigration were intensified—this evidently was a hint to me, the gypsy chieftain, to call off my hordes—but the race question did not enter into it; it was solely a *trades-union*\* question).

Just as the Greeks would resist the Jews in Cyprus, the Australians were now opposing Indian immigration. They are afraid of being swamped. And in his office he couldn't do anything against the will of the indigenous population.

"In our country everything is out in the open, and if Cyprus were discussed in this way, a storm would break loose immediately."

To which I replied that not everything in politics is really disclosed to the public—only results, or whatever may happen to be needed in a discussion. I then unfolded my plan of first of all hav-

\* In English in the original.



ing a current created in our favor in Cyprus. We ought to be invited to come there. I would have this prepared for by half a dozen emissaries. Once we establish the Jewish Eastern Company, with 5 million pounds capital, for settling Sinai and El Arish, the Cypriots will begin to want that golden rain on their island, too. The Moslems will move away, the Greeks will gladly sell their lands at a good price and migrate to Athens or Crete.

He seemed to take to the idea. But he said he could make no statement on El Arish and Sinai. The government would want to hear the views of Lord Cromer, of whom they thought very highly.

Too bad that Lord Cromer was no longer here. He had already returned to Egypt.

"I can send somebody there," I said.

"But you will have to speak to the Foreign Office."

"Help me to do so, Mr. Chamberlain! I am leaving the day after tomorrow."

He thought it over and gave me an appointment for today at 12:15, when I would be able to see Lord Lansdowne.

Was it before or after this that I drew a map of El Arish for him on a piece of paper that lay on his desk? Along with this, my Haifa hinterland idea: I hoped to induce the Turks to come to terms with me sooner if I also turned up at the Brook of Egypt. Then I might get the Haifa area cheaper.

At this the smooth-shaven mask laughed once more and dropped his monocle.

But he had no idea where El Arish was, and so we went to a big table where he pulled out an atlas from among other books, and in the atlas located Egypt. While he did so he said: "But in Egypt we would have the same difficulty with the present inhabitants."

"No," I said, "*we will not go to Egypt. We have been there.*"

He laughed again, this time bent deep over the book. Only now did he understand me completely, my desire to obtain a rallying point for the Jewish people in the vicinity of Palestine.

\* In English in the original.

In El Arish and Sinai there is vacant land. England can give us that. In return she would reap an increase in power and the gratitude of ten million Jews. All this I told him, and it made an impression on him. And I came right out with it:

"Would you agree to our founding a Jewish colony on the Sinai Peninsula?"

"Yes!" he said, "if Lord Cromer recommends it."

So that is the next thing I must attend to.

He dismissed me, and we arranged to meet again today.

His private secretary is a young lord with whom I once had lunch at Sir Francis's. He greeted me, but I didn't recognize him.

In the anteroom, strangely enough, I found the South African Langermann. I imagined that Chamberlain would ask him about me, and gave him the "good tip" to say that he was a Zionist. Later I ran into him at the hotel, and he reported that Chamberlain really had inquired about me, just as I had foreseen. Langermann claims to have replied: You and Dr. Herzl are my two *chiefs*.\*

In any case, it must have made an impression on Chamberlain that this South African promoter, too, should be one of my men.

Chamberlain does not give the impression of being brilliant. Not a man of imagination, a sober screw manufacturer who wants to expand the business.

A mind without literary or artistic resources, a businessman, but an absolutely clear, unclouded head.

The most striking thing about the interview was that he didn't have a very detailed knowledge of the British possessions which undoubtedly are at his command now. It was like a big junk shop whose manager isn't quite sure whether some unusual article is in the stock-room.

I need a place for the Jewish people to assemble. He's going to take a look and see if England happens to have something like that in stock.

The main result, a tremendous one, which I achieved yesterday is that Joe Chamberlain does not reject *a limine* [outright] the idea

\* In English in the original.



1364 THE COMPLETE DIARIES OF THEODOR HERZL  
of founding a *self-governing Jewish colony*\* in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean.

Today I am taking this to Rothschild, with whom I have a midday appointment.

October 24, on the train, between London and Folkestone

Yesterday was, I believe, a great day in Jewish history. However, before recording it here I will write the memorandum which was requested by Lord Lansdowne and which I shall send to Zangwill from Paris for translation.

———Memorandum:  
Milord:

In accordance with your kind oral request I have the honor to submit herewith a brief sketch of my plan.

It is a matter of solving the Jewish Question of Eastern Europe in a way that redounds to England's honor, but also to her advantage.

The stimulus for the British government to occupy itself with this question is supplied by the immigration to the East End of London.

It is true, this is still no calamity worth mentioning, and I hope it will never become one to the extent that England would have to break with the glorious principle of free asylum. But the fact that a Royal Commission was appointed for the matter will make it sufficiently plausible in the eyes of the world if the British government considers itself impelled to open up a special territory for the Jews who are oppressed everywhere and thus gravitate to England.

This explanation is not superfluous, for the same Powers which are now forcing their Jews out of the country and thus are not obstructing the emigration endeavors of the Zionist movement

\* In English in the original.

THE COMPLETE DIARIES OF THEODOR HERZL 1365  
which I am directing might change their minds and impede us if they discover that an increase in England's power in the southeastern corner of the Mediterranean is in the offing. In the beginning such jealousy would bother our emigrants a great deal; after some time, when things are rolling, they can no longer do anything about it.

To the southeast of the Mediterranean England has a possession which at present is worthless and almost uninhabited. It is the coastal area of El Arish and the Sinai Peninsula.

This area could be made the place of refuge, the home, of the Jews hard-pressed all over the world, if England permits the establishment of a Jewish colony there.

For a considerable period of time I have been negotiating with the Turkish government, in the name of the Zionist movement, for the cession of part of Palestine. Turkish negotiations take a long time, and I intend to continue them with the Sultan, who is personally favorably disposed toward me—if only to prevent even the shadow of a doubt from arising about the absolute peacefulness of the settlements in El Arish, etc., if we are granted them.

Practically speaking, the settlement might be carried out in roughly the following way. The British government will give us the necessary territorial concession into whose details it would be premature to go now.

When the land concession is granted, the taxes to be paid to the Empire by the Jewish colony should be determined, too.

On the basis of this concession we shall form a settlement company, the Jewish Eastern Company, with, let us say, five million pounds capital.

This Company will handle the settlement according to plan. A staff of technicians and agricultural experts will immediately be sent there, to prepare the construction of roads, railroads, and harbors, survey the country, and divide it for allotment.

Immigration will not take place at once, but will be organized. We have several thousand Zionist associations all over the world.

These are grouped into federations in each country. Thus, e.g.,



there is an English Federation (Chairman Sir Fr. Montefiore, in London), a South African one (Chairman Mr. Goldreich, Johannesburg), a Canadian one (Chairman Mr. Clarence de Sola, Montreal).

Naturally, the federations in Eastern Europe are much more numerous.

All federations are now centralized in Vienna. Through them we can make the individual associations into emigration authorities of absolute reliability and with uniform regulations. The immigrants will be presented to us by the Local Groups, and each such group will be responsible to us for the fitness of the people selected.

The purpose of this is to assure us of a sound core of pioneers.

The settlement will be made according to the most modern principles which science and experience furnish us.

The capital of the Company and the labor of the carefully selected first settlers will constitute only the beginning of the colony.

But if this were all, then this settlement too would only remain something artificial and trivial, like other, earlier attempts at Jewish colonization.

The undertaking will be made great and promising by the granting of colonial rights. This is the tremendous attraction for the outlawed, enfeebled, and unfortunate Jewish people.

Not only the hungry people of Eastern Europe will move where they find work. People with some capital, too, will found enterprises where they will be able to enjoy the fruits of their labors. Even some very rich people will go along from Russia.

All these are facts which I know in detail and for which confidential proof is available.

In some short years the Empire would be bigger by a rich colony.

The fact that nothing exists in this territory at present does not militate against my assertions.

Wherever there is a house now there used to be an empty building plot, and at a technically much more helpless time Venice was not even built on sand, but into the water.

Human beings are the wealth of a country, and England can

make an enormous acquisition of human beings—not only of the hundreds of thousands who will immigrate within a few years in order to fertilize the wasteland with their capital and their labor, and to establish a peaceful home. All other Jews in the world, too, will come into England's fold at one stroke—if not politically, then at least morally.

This is one of those imponderables that Bismarck had such an appreciation of.

There are, at a conservative estimate, ten million Jews in the whole world. Not everywhere will they be allowed to wear the colors of England openly; but they will all wear England in their hearts if through such a deed it becomes the protective power of the Jewish people. At one stroke England will get ten million secret but loyal subjects active in all walks of life all over the world. They sell needles and thread in many small villages in the East; but they are also wholesale merchants, industrialists, stock brokers, scholars and artists and newspapermen and other things.

As at a signal, all of them will place themselves at the service of the magnanimous nation that brings long-desired help.

England will get ten million agents for her greatness and her influence. And the effect of this sort of thing usually spreads from the political to the economic. It is surely no exaggeration to say that a Jew would rather purchase and propagate the products of a country that has rendered the Jewish people a benefaction than those of a country in which the Jews are badly off.

When the other nations of Europe were still asleep, England used the new means of communication to expand and fortify its present colonies.

Similarly, there are values that fall to the share of the one who acquires them at a time when they are esteemed lightly.

May the English government recognize what value there is in gaining the Jewish people.

I am, Your Lordship.

Respectfully yours,  
Dr. Theodor Herzl.



October 24

On shipboard, between Folkestone and Boulogne. *Bright day*.<sup>\*</sup>  
The congenial coast of England disappears.

\* \* \*

This, then, was yesterday.

At 12:15 I entered Chamberlain's business salon. For that is what the Colonial Office reminds one of. The drawing room of a shipping magnate.

Chamberlain rose, *very busy*.<sup>\*</sup> He could spare me only a few minutes. But he said so in a most friendly manner. I believe the *tip*<sup>\*</sup> which I gave on my way out yesterday to the South African who also happened to have an appointment contributed to his friendliness. He was *impressed*<sup>\*</sup> by my far-reaching influence.

I remained standing in order not to take his time. So, naturally, did he.

He said to me:

"I have arranged a meeting between you and Lord Lansdowne. He expects you at 4:30 in the afternoon. I have already smoothed the way for you. Present the whole matter to him, but do not mention Cyprus. The Cyprus part of it is *my* affair. Tell him in particular that your proposed colony is not a *jumping-off place*<sup>\*</sup> aimed at the Sultan's possessions."

As he said this, his face was all smiles. In fact, the mask was amazingly alive today and merry all the time.

I said:

"Of course there can be no question of that, for I intend to go to Palestine only with the Sultan's consent."

He gave me an amused look, as if to say:

"Go tell that to the Sultan."

But aloud he said to me:

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.

"Reassure Lord Lansdowne that you are not planning a Jameson raid from El Arish into Palestine."

"I shall set his mind at rest, Mr. Chamberlain!" I said, also smiling.

We shook hands, and on parting I told him that I was happy to have made his acquaintance.

\* \* \*

At 1:45 I was at New Court with Rothschild and was taken to the dining room at once. The already familiar table with its already familiar table mates: Leopold Rothschild, General Ellis, a few minor figures, among them a rather unpleasant former confidential clerk—my Schlesinger in *Altneuland*.

Trivial table talk. Afterwards I called Lord Rothschild out from his public office. We went into the room where we had first met. To his visible astonishment I told him that I had seen Chamberlain yesterday and today. Upon Greenberg's advice I didn't say anything about Lansdowne.

After I had told him that Chamberlain had received me well, he said that he would call on Chamberlain next week, get his reactions, and then write me.

When I told him that I planned to despatch six men to Cyprus and have them create a popular demand for inviting in the Jews, he broke into a big grin of approval.

He said he liked the Cyprus project better than the El Arish one. But we must start with the latter, I explained to him.

He told me that Roosevelt and King Edward were great friends of the Jews and were anxious to intercede on their behalf. I said: "But that isn't worth very much. I prefer the radical help of my plan."

He further told me that he had recently written to someone in Paris—I think it was Paris—about the problem of the Rumanian and Galician Jews, inveighing against the well-to-do Jews of Austria for their indolence—"because they don't listen to Dr. Herzl, who may be an enthusiast, but who is a great man."<sup>\*</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.



"What?" I said. "Why, you're embarrassing me."

"No, it is my opinion. You are a great man."\*

So we parted *dans les meilleurs termes* [on the best of terms]. The Ladies Pauncefote were waiting for him and he had to leave. *Stante pede* [Quickly] I called after him:

"If we get the concession, you must create the five-million-pound Company for me. Without you it will be hard if not impossible."

The expression on his face said: *Nous parlerons de ça plus tard* [We'll discuss that later].

Previously he had said to me, *as to the Sultan*:\*

"I didn't write you about that, because the letters are opened. You were quite right to decline his offers. At first he tried to bribe you, in order to use you later for getting money from the Jews. Only yesterday I received a letter from him, through a third party, which ran something like this: Dear friend, lend me another 5 million on the cigarette monopoly.—I didn't bother with it."

After that remark of R.'s I dropped the whole question of Turkish finances, because I could have no doubt that nothing would come of it.

We parted friends.

\* \* \*

At 4:30 I was back again in Downing Street, this time in the more elegant rooms of the Foreign Office.

The amiable First Secretary, Mr. Barrington, whom I had already met at Francis Montefiore's table, came in and offered me Lansdowne's excuses for having to keep me waiting a little, as he was being detained by a visitor.

Around 5 o'clock I walked at last into Lansdowne's private office (an exquisite salon) and was greeted by him charmingly. He is a nice English gentleman, most modest in manner and not of conspicuous intelligence.

Barrington had already told me that Chamberlain had been *very anxious*\* to have me received by Lansdowne.

\* In English in the original.

So I knew beforehand that it would be smooth sailing. But this very absence of obstacles, as well as Lansdowne's gracious way of listening, irritated me. I did not feel stimulated and my English functioned badly. I was at a loss for words, etc., until I finally made a quick decision and switched to French, whereupon *l'affaire marchait sur des roulettes* [things rolled along].

That reminded me of how I had once decided that I would speak to Salisbury in French, because of my superior command of that language. I no longer found Salisbury in office, but Lansdowne instead.

Once more I explained everything, but omitted Cyprus. He listened most amiably, raised few objections, and finally asked me to let him have a written memorandum of the matter—evidently for the Cabinet. He for his part would write Lord Cromer for his expert opinion. Whereupon I said that I planned to send a representative, Greenberg, to Cromer, and *at once*.\*

He reminded me that Cromer might already have left for the South, but said he was willing to give Greenberg an introduction to Lord Cromer.

Charming, too, was the way in which Lord Lansdowne bade me good-bye.

I think this has been a successful day.

October 27, on the Orient Express, beyond  
Geislingen

I forgot one thing about the Lansdowne interview.

At the end I said to him:\*\*

"There is one other point. I have a good personal relationship with the Sultan. I would be happy to be of service to you, in turn.

"I believe that English influence has suffered a bit in the Orient."

He lowered his eyes diplomatically as I said this, but seemed to be delighted and said he would return to the matter some time.

\* In English in the original.

\*\* In French in the original.



November 7, Vienna, Friday

I am *broken down*,\* am out of harness.

At the Annual Conference, and all that went with it, I wore myself out to such a degree that since Sunday I have had all sorts of heart symptoms.

All week I have been dragging myself around, incapable of writing even a few lines.

Today, finally, I reported to the *N. Fr. Pr.* that I am sick.

I sent Greenberg to Egypt. I have just received a wire from this excellent man, dated Cairo, where he arrived two days ago, saying that he will leave there tomorrow morning—"everything all right"\*—and be back here on Wednesday.

Is it possible that we stand on the threshold of obtaining a—British—Charter and founding the Jewish State?

The exhaustion of my energies makes it seem credible.

\* \* \*

In his review of *Altneuland*, Dr. Ganz put it very nicely:  
"No Moses enters the Promised Land."

November 13, Edlach.

My heart is working more normally again.

Greenberg is back from Cairo, with complete success, to the extent that this was possible. He won over to our cause Lord Cromer, also Boutros Ghali Pasha (the Egyptian "*prime minister*"\*), and the more important English *sous-ordres* [subordinates] Mr. Boyle, Captain Hunter, etc.

Of all my collaborators no one has hitherto accomplished anything like what Greenberg has done since the Royal Commission, Rothschild, and Chamberlain.

He truly is my right-hand man now. The question is whether

\* In English in the original.

we can exploit our success further within a week, before Chamberlain's departure for South Africa. Otherwise the matter will fall asleep again.

Together with Greenberg I welded together the draft which I made for Lansdowne and which was revised by Zangwill, Nordau, Cowen, and Alex and the one Greenberg wrote on shipboard between Alexandria and Trieste.

Following Greenberg's draft, I am writing to Chamberlain as follows:\*

The Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, M. P., etc. etc.

Dear Sir,

Enclosed I have the honour of forwarding you copy of a letter I am despatching to Lord Lansdowne in reference to the matter upon which you were so good as to accord me an interview last month.

I have asked Mr. Greenberg himself to hand this letter to you, as he has been to Cairo and seen Lord Cromer and others, including Boutros Ghali Pasha, and would be able to tell you, in case you care to know any details. Let me again thank you for all your kindness in the matter and wish you a pleasant and successful voyage to S. Africa. Perhaps, however, you would desire to see me again before you leave Europe, in which case, if you will let Mr. Greenberg know, I can either come to London or arrange to meet you *en route*, so as to place myself at your disposal. Believe me to remain

Your obedient servant . . .

November 18, Vienna

Now I am again hanging on the end of a telegraph wire, expecting news from Greenberg. He has been in London since Saturday evening, but has so far been unable to get to either Chamberlain or Lansdowne.

\* Original text.



Today he wires me that Chamberlain has given him an *appointment*\* for tomorrow. But tomorrow there will also be a Cabinet meeting, the last that Chamberlain will attend before his departure. I am wiring Greenberg immediately to give my letter to Lansdowne *at once*\* and not to Chamberlain first, as we had agreed orally at Edlach.

Two days of this *never returning week*\* have now passed, and I am very reduced in my expectations. The earliest I could get to London now would be Friday evening.

This greatly diminishes my chances of completing arrangements prior to Chamberlain's departure.

\* \* \*

To be on the safe side I am writing the following letter to the Sultan in case I get an Egyptian Charter:\*\*

Sire:

I have the honor to submit the following advice to Y.I.M.'s judgment. I have heard it said that the Imp. govt. is concerned again with the match question. It seems that certain powers would want to prevent this monopoly, which would be so useful and so little trouble. It is on this point that I should like to take the liberty of offering my opinion.

It would be easy to avoid the difficulty. Y.I.M. would only have to declare that there is no question of manufacturing matches in Turkey, but only of buying them in the countries where they now come from. Since the difficulties are raised only in the interest of these firms, it is clear that the objections will cease.

The Imp. govt. reserves only the monopoly of sale. The sale might be administered by the tobacco shops. The Imp. govt. would make contracts with those foreign firms which now supply Turkey, and, by purchasing in great quantities, it would obtain very ad-

\* In English in the original.

\*\* In French in the original.

vantageous prices. Or else, and this would be preferable, the govt. would ask for bids on the delivery of matches to make the most of the foreign firms' competition.

The difference between the cost of purchasing in volume and the monopoly retail sales will probably produce considerable revenues on which a loan could be floated later as the need arose.

Y.I.M. will decide if this completely disinterested advice is worth anything or not.

At the same time I am taking the liberty of laying a modest gift, my new book, at the foot of the Imperial throne.

It is an imaginative novel, showing in a picture of the future the happy effect that Jewish colonization in Palestine would have.

I have had, alas!, to put my conception in the form of a fantasy, not having been able to obtain Y.I.M.'s consent. It is elsewhere, on other territory, that I am now trying to transform my schemes into reality.

That will not prevent me from remaining sincerely grateful and devoted to the magnanimous Sultan, who is my people's friend, and from always holding myself at his disposal, if my humble abilities can be useful to him.

I have, Sire, the honor to remain Y.I.M.'s humble and obedient servant

Dr. Th. H.

Nov. 19, 1902

November 19, Vienna

Wire to Greenberg: \*

Am well and have decided to go to Odessa (Cairo) if my meeting Haven with Kipper and Company cannot be arranged. I shall then leave Vienna aftermorrow and think it indispensable that you join me. You must leave on Friday night, and we meet on the way. Kindly wire me at once your resolution and today's results.— —

\* Original text.



For when I woke up today I decided not to give up the tactical position even if Greenberg should not succeed in getting the English Ministers this week.

Then I shall simply follow or precede Chamberlain to Egypt and try to buttonhole him there.

November 20, Vienna

Satisfying wire from Greenberg. Yesterday he spoke with Chamberlain, and the latter with Lansdowne.

My memorandum was in Lansdowne's hands by the day before the Cabinet meeting. Chamberlain plans to speak with Lord Cromer and deal with the matter speedily.

Greenberg advises me not to go to Cairo, but wait here patiently for Lansdowne's call to London, to sign a preliminary agreement.

I am taking his advice.

Wire to Greenberg:\*

I remain here following your advice.

But you must see at once Kipper, give him my thanks and urge matters. Explaining that investigations must be started during winter. I could easily come just now for a few days to London while it would be rather difficult for me later on.

Wire Gloys answer.

Benjamin.

I am also sending him a letter urging him to hurry, for the Commission should be sent off in January at the latest, if colonization is to start in the autumn.

November 22, Vienna

Letter to Mahmud Nedim (as a check that my letter gets into the Sultan's hands):

\* Original text.

Your Excellency:

Permit me to ask you to transmit the following communication to H.M. the Sultan by telegram and in your code language.

"I learn from Dr. Herzl that he has sent financial information to Your Majesty in the usual way."

Permit me also to give you my telephone number, which is not in the telephone directory. It is 17 147.

With kindest regards,

Your Excellency's obedient servant,  
Th. H.

November 30, Vienna

Greenberg reports that things are going well. He has spoken with Mr. Barrington, the First Secretary of the Foreign Office.

Today the A.C. met at my place. Kokesch and Kahn mildly laughed at me when I mentioned the success that a Charter, even only one from Egypt, would mean for us.

I reminded Kokesch of a statement he had made but a few years ago: "No one is going to lend us even ten thousand guilders." After all, by today we have a few millions to administer which have *au fond* [actually] been "loaned" to me, i.e., given *à fonds perdu* [outright].

Then I outlined for the gentlemen my conception of how things would go if we were to receive the Egyptian Charter.

Above El Arish, 11½ English miles to the north, there is a bay. There I would construct the first harbor, build a breakwater into the sea, and then construct a road leading from this harbor to the Sinai mountains. I hope to find the initial economic basis for a great settlement in the mountains.

December 2, Vienna

Yesterday another clash with Bacher, the first in a long time. The little shady politician of the Jewish Community, Dr. Stern,



was at the *N.Fr.Pr.* There was an irritated discussion of the last Community elections.

Bacher, annoyed: "I don't know what they are fighting about. After all, the Community is only peanuts."

I: "That is only one point in the general battle. It is the same as when they fight for a dairy farm in a battle."

Ashamed, he realized that once again he had failed to understand something. Both of us had raised our voices quite a bit.

December 9, Vienna

From Katzenelsohn the news that I shall perhaps be received by the Czar. In that case I shall need the Austrian ambassador at St. Petersburg, and therefore I am reviving my contact with Koerber.

To Koerber:

Your Excellency:

Kindly accept my new book *Altneuland* (a political novel, an ideal solution of the Jewish Question) as a token of my sincere respect.

I did not bother to apply for an audience for the purpose of presenting it to you, since I know how precious your every minute is.

The State is, after all, not a novel for you, but a reality that is perhaps sometimes lamented.

With deep respect, I remain

Your Excellency's ever obedient servant,  
Th. Herzl.

December 10, Vienna

Fostering of the relationship with Eckardstein.

Dear Baron Eckardstein:

The friendly hours we chatted away together last summer encourage me to offer you my humble but candid advice at a fate-

ful moment for you. Even though you may not heed it, you will recognize the sincere concern by which it is prompted.

It is true that I am more detached from the things involved, but for this very reason I may be seeing them a bit more clearly.

I see by the papers that you are planning to convene your friends next week for the founding of a "Kaiser Party."

This party name is the most unfortunate that you could have chosen, and it occurs to me that one summer night on your balcony I drew your attention to the fundamental importance of a party's designation. The public knows only slogans. It is stupid, but that's the way it is. You will never get rid of the name under which you make your debut, in jest and in earnest.\* People are going to beat away at the weak spots that you first show for as long as you give any sign of life. But why jeopardize a promising and great thing right from the start? Today you can still rectify it, otherwise I would not bother you with this letter. But first the reasons why your party should not have that name.

1) The name is not distinctive. With the exception of the Social Democrats, every party will indignantly deny not being a Kaiser Party, insofar as this means adherence to the monarchic principle.

2) If, however, only the present Kaiser is meant, you will do yourself harm from the outset, without strengthening him.

I think very highly of your Kaiser whose personal acquaintance I have had the honor of making. He is a brilliant personality, perhaps only too richly talented and too humanly impulsive for the place above the clouds which providence has assigned to him. You know with what frequency he mixes in public life and how he sometimes goes too far for an emperor.

Will you commit yourself in advance always to go along? If you do, you will be regarded as a *quantité négligeable* [negligible quantity] from the start. If not, by virtue of your being the Kaiser Party, even your tacit refusal will hurt the Kaiser more deeply and be more detrimental to his authority than the most violent attacks of the revolutionaries.

\* Translator's Note: The well-read diarist's phrase is *Schimpf und Ernst*, the title of a collection of short moral tales and anecdotes by the Jewish-born Franciscan monk Johannes Pauli (1522).



3) On a number of previous occasions the Kaiser has changed his views of things and persons. Surely you are acquainted with the opposition's compilation of his contradictions. As Heyse puts it,

*Wer heute klüger ist als gestern  
Und es mit offenem Mut bekennt,  
Den werden die Biedermänner lästern  
Und schelten ihn inkonsequent.*

[Anyone who is wiser today than he was yesterday and frankly admits it will be maligned by the philistines and chided for being inconsistent.]

Bismarck was inconsistent, too. A great personality's inconsistency contains its own excuse.

A party, however, must not bear the stamp of inconsistency. Of course, I can conceive of a personal party, e.g., a Chamberlain Party or the like, but not a Wilhelm Party. Why? Because Wilhelm II is constitutionally not responsible, and the very premise of a personal party is the political responsibility of the chief. You could say: I, Eckardstein, am a vassal of the Kaiser, and you could found an Eckardstein Party, but it seems to me to be misguided to start a party with the Kaiser as patron.

4) You will be accused of sycophancy even if you agree with the Kaiser of your own free judgment. On the other hand, the Kaiser won't get much out of you, because at the beginning you will not seem as though you would resist him if need be. *On ne s'appuie que sur ce qui résiste* [We can lean only on what is capable of resisting]. The reason the landed proprietors are a bulwark of the throne is that they say: "if he does what we want."

I could cite additional reasons. But perhaps these will suffice.

How, then, can you remedy this?

If you make an authoritative correction of the newspaper report in the first Frankfurt meeting: "Our program is such and such. We favor prudent progress. We are the party of the bourgeoisie, of modern developments, and we believe that these are also the aims of our emperor. In this sense a newspaper report was able to call us

the Kaiser Party. Naturally we would not dream of dragging the Kaiser into party fights, etc."

Choose any party name you wish. Colorlessness, even triviality, does not do any harm.

You can choose Middle-Class Party, Moderate Progress Party, New Empire Party, and umpteen other names, but not Kaiser Party. I would like "Eckardstein Party" best.

You have the build of a standard bearer. And something else that may also be of value in the future: You will keep all your people under your command.

Perhaps we shall meet somewhere in the near future. It may be that the performance of my new drama at the Königliches Schauspielhaus at the beginning of next year will give me an occasion to come to Berlin. If you are in Germany at that time, we could have a chat about all sorts of things, including the organization of publicity which is of paramount importance for your purposes. If you wish to appear as a power in the next elections, you have to give it some thought now. I know something about these things, but would not care to go any further with my unsolicited advice than I have in these lines, whose frankness you, my dear Baron, will surely not take amiss.

Begging you to place my respects at the feet of the Baroness, I am, with kindest regards,

Very faithfully yours,  
Th. H.

December 22, Vienna

Yesterday I received Lord Lansdowne's reply, written by Sir T. H. Sanderson, an historic document.

Lord Cromer reports that the project for the Sinai Peninsula will be feasible—if the Commission finds that the actual conditions permit it. The Egyptian government would demand only Ottoman citizenship and a yearly contribution for the preservation of order internally and externally.



I shall send a Commission there: Marmorek the architect, Kessler the engineer, Prof. Warburg, one of the Palestinian agricultural experts, and the geometrician Jennings-Bramly of the Sudan whom Cromer has recommended.

I shall charge the Sultan dearly for accepting Ottoman citizenship (under an English guarantee). I shall demand in return a piece of Palestine.

I shall promise the Egyptian government payment of the yearly tribute and keep the promise, provided that the governor of the Egyptian province of Judea is elected by the colonists for ten or seven years and only confirmed by the Khedive—or nominated by the English government and appointed by the Khedive.

The protective troops can be commanded by Anglo-Egyptian officers; the personnel will be ours.

On the basis of these accomplishments Lord Rothschild will have to get me the I.C.A. money—at least two or three million pounds for the Jewish Eastern Company. The rest through public subscription.

December 22, Vienna

Letter to Lansdowne:\*

The Rt. Hon. the Marquess of Lansdowne K. G. etc., Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to His Britannic Majesty.  
My Lord,

Allow me to thank your Lordship for the communication you sent me through Sir Thomas H. Sanderson.

As some of the points referred to require a personal explanation, I hope to be able to call on your Lordship in London shortly after New Year and answer principally the objections concerning the "colonial rights."

Believe me to be, My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant  
Th. H.

\* Original text.

Ditto to Sir Thomas Henry Sanderson G. C. B., K. C. M. G.,  
Permanent Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.\*

Sir,

Allow me to thank you for the communication from Lord Lansdowne which you kindly sent me.

As some of the points referred to require an oral explanation—among others the highly important question of the colonial rights—I have the intention to call on His Lordship in London shortly after New Year.

Believe me to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant  
T. H.

\* \* \*

What impresses me most is the coolness and calmness with which the Foreign Office continues to pursue the Sinai matter amidst the Venezuelan entanglement.

This coolness and calmness must be learned. It is the key to greatness.

December 26

Upon Greenberg's advice, changed the letters to Lansdowne and Sanderson.

To Lansdowne I wrote the following, apart from the introductory and complimentary claptrap:\*

I have wired Mr. Greenberg to call at the Foreign Office and tender to your Lordship, through Mr. Barrington, my warmest acknowledgement of your kindness in the matter.

I shall take an early opportunity of laying your despatch before my colleagues, and after consultation with them I shall reply in detail.—

I informed Sanderson that I would come to London soon.

\* Original text.



December 30, Vienna

Between last night and this morning the following occurred to me:

Perhaps we could irrigate the desert land by means of the Nile!

A simple pipeline probably impossible, to be sure, on account of the Suez canal; the water would have to be pumped over at ship's height (!?) or pumped through at a great depth. The latter would seem much easier to me.

Such an aqueduct could cost millions and that still would not be too high a price for it.

Or the mud (like dredging mud) could be loaded on boats, and then not dumped in the sea, but taken to El Arish.

Also, perhaps filter ships could be built, have the mud settle in the holds, and then wash it ashore at El Arish.

There might be many ways of execution. I am turning over this and the phosphate matter to Marmorek and Warburg (who has accepted the mission) as a secret assignment on this trip.

December 31, Vienna

This evening, after I had once again cleared the *feuilleton* files at the *N. Fr. Pr.* preparatory to my departure, I had a severe *défaillance* [fit of depression] which still continues.

I was away so often and for so long. If I leave again now . . . Things are bound to come to a head some day. Then I shall either have the worry of making a living, or be the holder of a stipend from the movement!

What terrible small difficulties are paralyzing me in the face of the big ones.

And yet: now that things are crackling east and west of the Mediterranean, now that the Macedonian question will probably be opened up in the Spring, the partition of Morocco may be imminent, and the Italian annexation of Tripoli is definitely in the offing, it is of the greatest importance that I speak with Lansdowne. With Rothschild as well.

I have a harder and harder time leaving, presumably because I am getting older, more timorous, and more worried about my livelihood.

This time my good, wise mother, too, alarmed me by saying that I shouldn't gamble with my livelihood.

What to do?

First, sleep on it once more.

January 11, on the train, outside Calais

In Paris, where I had asked Greenberg to meet me, the reply to Lansdowne was discussed. My plans, which had been approved by the Vienna A.C., also met with the approval of Nordau, Alex, and Greenberg. Then Nordau drafted the reply, whereupon Greenberg corrected its English.

Greenberg took the letter to London. I wrote Lord Rothschild that I was coming to London, and asked him for an appointment.

January 15, London

So far nothing of consequence.

The familiar Bank and East End hubbub.

Rothschild was very nice. He replied to my letter that he would come to see me, and then he came to my hotel.

Two years ago he didn't even want to meet me at Lady Battersea's.

In three-quarters of an hour I explained everything to him, gave him my correspondence with the government to read, which I believe, impressed him.

I told him what I wanted from him: to get me three million pounds from the I.C.A. for the Jewish Eastern Company. We would then raise the remaining two million by subscription.

He promised me to ask Claude Montefiore to come and see him, although he doesn't like him.

This is supposed to be done tomorrow. Then I am to come to lunch and he will give me a reply.



He told me that great conflicts were now going on in the I.C.A. They had spent £900,000 annually, and the English members were insisting that there be less waste and better accounts be rendered. Then both factions had turned to him for advice.

"Make use of this situation in our behalf, Lord Rothschild!" I said to him.

He is a fine old man and I am really fond of him.

\* \* \*

I asked Gaster to see me at my hotel so as to let Claude Montefiore know even before he goes to see Rothschild what trouble is in store for the I.C.A. if it does not cooperate with us.

\* \* \*

On top of this, wrote a *feuilleton* for the *N. Fr. Pr.*, "An Evening in Paris." I can't get rid of the misery of this dependence.

\* \* \*

Yesterday a letter from Barrington, Lansdowne's secretary: Lansdowne regrets being unable to receive me this week.

Unpleasant, but can't be helped.

\* \* \*

Gaster has begged off. At the same time Colonel Goldsmid came. I immediately used him for the errand to see Claude Montefiore. I promised Goldsmid the command over the *military force*\* at El Arish.

*Il est à mon dévouement* [He will do anything I want].

January 17, London

Yesterday was a good day.

At noon with Rothschild. He told me that Claude Montefiore was not in London (which I already knew from Col. Goldsmid, who had gone to Southampton for me to see Claude), but had

\* In English in the original.

wired that he would be here on Monday if it was something important. "Telegraph him, Lord Rothschild!"

He did so immediately and also sent for Herbert Lousada of the I.C.A. with whom he was not acquainted.

Then I said: "I have to go to the Foreign Office at 3 o'clock. What are we going to do if the I.C.A. people don't cooperate?"

Lord Rothschild: "Then we shall make the subscription. But I don't see how they could refuse."

I further asked: "Shall I take in Cassel?"

Lord Rothschild: "If he's willing, why not? But he always likes to be at the head."

I: "No, *you* should head the financial part!"

Lord Rothschild: "No, no, *you* will be at the head, Dr. Herzl. I only want to be your co-worker. I am glad if I can be of help to you."

*Voilà* [There we are]! So we have achieved that much, unless he backs out again. Put not your trust in princes (of finance, too), like a cradle they will rock.\*

Then we had lunch. His son Charles, a nice, intelligent, robust young man, was also *au fait* [in on it], as was Leopold R. The house of R. seems to have made the matter its own.

\* \* \*

Afterwards went with Greenberg to see Sir Thomas Sanderson, Permanent Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs, in Downing Street.

A lean, sharp, intelligent, suspicious old man who reminds me of Freycinet. We spoke about this and that, not much that was new. But when I mentioned the colonial rights which were to be established for the settlement, he got frightened. We must not think of anything international—at the most, a Charter from the Egyptian government.

The strange thing is that while the whole world believes in England's determination to hold on to Egypt *coûte que coûte* [at any cost], Sir Thomas gave me the feeling that they don't consider

\* Translator's Note: See Note on p. 886.



themselves so firmly in the saddle and regard the situation as provisional.

I gave him the itinerary of the Commission and its membership. I said we still needed an irrigation engineer. Sir Thomas recommended that we contact Sir Benjamin Baker, the builder of the Firth of Forth bridge and the Aswan Dam.

He didn't want to go into the details of the Charter. We would have to arrange that with Lord Cromer. The English government would go as far as Cromer did, and no farther than that. Sir Thomas evidently was afraid that I might inveigle him too far into an adventure.

In this referral from one to the other obviously lies a weakness of the English administration. They are too precise in their jurisdictions. Politics cannot be carried on without exceeding authority, and one person must bear all the responsibility.

\* \* \*

After leaving Sir Thomas I drove in company with Greenberg to the great engineer Baker. He looks like a shoemaker, but his square face hacked out with a hatchet, his bushy commanding glance, his thick drooping moustache which conceals the movements of the mouth, the powerful jaw—all this revealed a man to me.

He recommended to us Engineer Stephens, who is on his way back from Egypt right now.

Sir Benjamin was curious as to what we actually wanted; he also asked little leading questions, but did not really take it amiss when we gave no answers to them.

\* \* \*

In the evening Col. Goldsmid, who had returned from his trip to Southampton to see Claude, called me on the telephone. The result of his trip has been satisfactory. Further details in person today.

\* \* \*

Then I made an agreement with Engineer Kessler to be the leader of the expedition. Kessler has the knowledge and the calm

that the task requires. Oskar Marmorek is an artistic temperament and in just a few days caused mischief back in Berlin by his rashness and gabbiness.

The expedition will set out from Trieste on the 29th inst.

I am going to work out all the details, the whole provisioning, etc., with Cook.

I am now studying the maps of the country.

This is a great ending for Book Thirteen.

\* \* \*

Later.

Colonel Goldsmid was here. He wants to be in on the expedition. I accepted him. He will get £100 for the trip, plus expenses.

He intends to win the Lord Mayor and the King for us.



## Book Fourteen

Begun in London, January 18, 1903



January 18, London

It is a Sunday with heavy fog, the atmosphere almost impenetrable. I am sitting in front of the fire-place in my little hotel room. I will write a *feuilleton* for the *N. Fr. Pr.* and tide myself over the idle Sunday.

When Colonel Goldsmid offered to go along on the trip, he made a remark about *money arrangements*\* which he would have to make in advance.

"Do speak with me as with your friend,"\* I encouraged him.

Whereupon he said reluctantly that it would be about £100 in addition to expenses.

Agreed. "You will have on Monday a check of 100 pounds"\* I told him.

Then he left to have luncheon with the Lord Mayor. As for me, I shall be content if he introduces me to the King. Whatever other service he performs for the expedition does not matter to me.

\* \* \*

A wire from Oskar that Franz Oppenheimer, who had already sent in his refusal, may go along after all.

From Alex a wire that Laurent-Brussels has accepted, but not yet said what fee he asks.

Tomorrow afternoon I expect Engineer Stephens whom Sir Benjamin Baker recommended to me.

If he accepts, the expedition will consist of the following:

Kessler, leader of the expedition;

Oskar Marmorek, architect and secretary;

Colonel Goldsmid;

Franz Oppenheimer;

Laurent;

Jennings Bramly;

Stephens.

\* In English in the original.



I also want Greenberg to go to Egypt at the same time as the Commission. He is to introduce them to Lord Cromer, Boyle, Hunter, and others.

If he can't, this task will devolve upon Col. Goldsmid whom I also want to win over the Egyptian Jews, Suarez, etc.

\* \* \*

Today I gave instructions to Kessler. He must bring me a report about the feasibility of settling the land, so that I may get the Charter and the money.

I also confided to him my desire to have Cyprus and Haifa with its hinterland, and my intention to start the colonization on the best soil.

\* \* \*

I gave Greenberg instructions for the Charter, which is to be concise and flexible.

He is to take what he can get from the Egyptian government, but should ask for as much as possible, because the quality of the concession will determine the size of the investments and the possibilities for prospering.

January 19, London

I am continuing to organize the expedition.

This morning Kessler, Col. Goldsmid, and a representative of Cook's came to see me.

I made all the arrangements as far as Ismailia. From there on Kessler will take over. I gave them only the main outlines.

The expedition is to proceed from Ismailia (not Port Said) on the caravan road to the Lake of Sirbonia, toward the eastern end on the land side, and there have its first headquarters.

Col. Goldsmid will bring good maps from the War Office, and is going to be very valuable in general.

\* \* \*

At noon I was at Rothschild's. He told me that Claude Montefiore had begged off for reasons of health. A lie, of course. Claude doesn't want to expose himself.

But Lousada was coming—specifically, at 3 p. m.

We had lunch. Lord Rothschild told tales about the *Times*, which had once concealed the source of its information about Sir Robert Peel for 55 years, and things like that.

After lunch I said that I would come back at 3 (so that I wouldn't have to hang around in Rothschild's office).

I returned 10 minutes late on purpose.

Lord R. was already deep in an explanation of the matter.

Next to him there sat, shy and respectful, a skinny grouch, Mr. Herbert Lousada.

An unfolded map of Egypt was lying there; brother Leopold and the Lord's two sons were respectfully listening to the action of state.

Lord R. behaved splendidly. He defended my plan as if it were his own. "*Dr. Herzl and I agree in that,*"\* etc.

The tricky yellow journalist Lousada attempted the difficult feat of smiling amiably on the half of his face that was turned to Lord R., and wearing a hard, forbidding expression on the half that was turned toward me. The result was comical and disgusting.

When he (Lousada) replied to Lord R.'s invitation to think the matter over, "I shall be happy to think over anything you may desire," Lord R. came back at him as follows:

"These Portuguese Jews always answer you with polite phrases. But I don't want phrases; I want the substance."

(He had never met Mr. Lousada before. *Voilà la puissance de l'argent* [There's the power of money]).

He told Mr. L. to bear in mind that Dr. Herzl's plan couldn't be treated so lightly. The Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and the Colonies had been persuaded.

The English and the Egyptian governments were patrons of the thing, etc. Dr. Herzl was asking for five million pounds, and the

\* In English in the original.



I.C.A. should supply three of these, whereupon the remainder could easily be raised by subscription.

Then I let loose:

"Get your colleagues together and put it before them. Do it we shall. The only question is whether with you or without you."

The greyhound was in a real squeeze, and I think he was glad when Lord Rothschild ended the session.

He said good-bye contritely, I, nonchalantly.

"Lord Rothschild, I should like to have you as a lawyer!" I said and left.

Lousada was waiting for me in the hall.

I walked with him for a few blocks and continued to hammer at him. He should notify Claude and Alfred Cohen, but no one else. It was an English affair, and I wouldn't want to alarm the patriotism of the French members of the I.C.A.

He promised me this.

I also said that we would bury the hatchet and work together in the future.

He thought that in principle the question need not be investigated; only when we had the concession and the report.

With this I agreed and promised to let him know as soon as I had the concession, so that he could convene the I.C.A.

\* \* \*

When I got back to the hotel, I found Stephens the engineer, who had been recommended by Sir Benjamin Baker, already waiting for me.

In five minutes we had reached an agreement. He will get £40 a week. He is a colorless Englishman in his fifties, with a stutter, quiet and amiable.

Col. Goldsmid also came again. I introduced the gentlemen to each other.

Then a wire from Alex. Laurent has definitely accepted.

The Commission is complete.

January 21, London

Worked yesterday until afternoon with the general staff of my Commission.

Because of his composure I like Kessler very well as the leader.

Colonel Goldsmid is already making himself useful by procuring general-staff and admiralty maps.

G. H. Stephens, the irrigation *engineer*,\* seems to be a solid Englishman, with the cool enthusiasm of a real engineer.

The harbor in Lake Sirbonia was the first thing we discussed. He would like to extend the fresh-water canal that runs from the Nile to the Suez Canal. This canal was built for the canal workers in the time of Lesseps.

(As a 10-year-old boy I talked about making a Lesseps-like project, cutting the Panama canal!)

\* \* \*

Goldsmid has received £100. Stephens gets £40 a week, Laurent 500 francs a week. Greenberg asked for "no payment," but a £500 loan for his firm without a repayment limit. I granted everything. Greenberg is the most expensive man, but also the most important one, for he is to secure the Charter. So far he has done very excellent work and is worth any amount of money.

\* \* \*

From afternoon to midnight I worked on a *feuilleton* for the *N. Fr. Pr.*

Covering letter to Maledikt:\*\*

Dear Friend:

Please find enclosed a *feuilleton*.

Originally I planned to go from here to the Riviera, because I still don't feel well. But something has come up here which I must

\* In English in the original.

\*\* Translator's Note: Herzl's sardonic pun on the name of his superior, whom he had come to regard as more maleficent than beneficent.



take care of in Vienna. Therefore I shall be in Vienna next Tuesday.

It is possible that within the next few months I shall have to ask you to accept my resignation from the staff of the *N. Fr. Pr.* Until then I shall naturally be at your disposal as always when I am in Vienna, and send you a *feuilleton* a week when I am traveling.

I shall notify you in time if the indicated eventuality should arise, so that you can arrange for a replacement, which will not be hard to find.

With my best regards to yourself and Dr. Bacher,

Yours sincerely,  
Herzl.

January 26, on the train, between Munich and Salzburg

From London I sent Chamberlain the letter which is pasted in here:\*

Dear Sir,

During my absence from Vienna, I find to my great annoyance and regret, that an article has appeared in the *Neue Freie Presse*, with which as you know I am connected, violently attacking you. I cannot tell you how sorry I am that this should have found its way into my paper.

So strongly do I feel, however, about this, and so deeply grateful am I for all you have done for our people recently, in connection with the proposed settlement in the Sinai Peninsula, which I hope soon to see an accomplished fact, that I feel bound in honour to leave my position on the *Neue Freie Presse* in your hands; and if you think that I ought to sever my connection with the paper as a demonstration of my personal loyalty to and regard for yourself, I am quite prepared to do so. I should have done so without putting the matter to you, were it not that I should thereby be withdrawing a strong pro-English element from the personnel of the Journal.

\* Original text.

Still, as I say, I leave myself in your hands, and will do as you desire I should under the circumstances.

We are hoping to send out the preliminary Commission of Investigation to the Sinai Peninsula in a few days, and I need scarcely say our deepest feelings of thankfulness are with you for the aid you have rendered us in respect to the scheme.

Hoping you are having a pleasant and successful journey,  
Believe me to remain

Sincerely yours,

Rt. Hon.: Joseph Chamberlain M.P.

Address: Vienna-Währing, Haizingergasse 29.

From Paris—after my arrival I sat down in the cafeteria without washing up—I wrote the letter to Lansdowne which is pasted in here and is dated January 22:\*

My Lord,

I regret you were unable to see me when I was in London. I however had the pleasure of seeing Sir Thos. Sanderson, and he doubtless will have informed you that the Commission of Investigation in the Sinai Peninsula will start from Ismailia about 4th Feb.

Mr. Greenberg who previously saw Lord Cromer and others in Cairo, will proceed there shortly in order to confer on my behalf with the authorities as to the Charter to be obtained from the Egyptian Govt.

Mr. Greenberg will have full powers to act for me and for the Executive Com. of the Zionist movement, and I shall feel favoured if your Lordship will be so good as to intimate this to Lord Cromer.

I beg sincerely to thank Your Lordship for your kind assistance in the matter, and to assure you that we shall do everything possible to make the scheme a success. I am

Your Lordship's obedient servant.

\* Original text.



In Paris I received a coded telegram from Greenberg saying that there had been an answer to this letter from Sanderson and that I would find it in Vienna. Since Greenberg informs me at the same time that the Commission is leaving on Tuesday, I assume that nothing unfavorable has happened.

\* \* \*

In Paris I had a wire from Kessler saying that Stephens had come down with bronchitis. In consequence Kessler asked for assignment of a physician, Dr. Joffe of Jaffa. I wired Joffe and instructed Kessler to leave on Tuesday with or without Stephens. If necessary, Stephens might follow two or three days later with Greenberg, via Marseilles.

\* \* \*

I have arranged the itinerary of the expedition in the following manner.

Kessler, Oskar, Goldsmid, Laurent (whom I met in Paris at the ailing Alex's and won over) and possibly Stephens arrive at Alexandria on Monday, February 2, where they are joined by Jennings Bramly, from whom, to be sure, I still have had no word so far, and by Joffe, if he goes along.

On Tuesday, February 3, Colonel Goldsmid will go to Ismailia as quartermaster, along with Laurent, Stephens, and Joffe, in order to inspect the camels, provisions, etc.

Meanwhile Kessler and Bramly go to Cairo, if there is anything to take care of there.

Oskar is to go along to Cairo, too, in order to take a look at the neo-Egyptian architectural style whose airy Gothic arches are to stimulate him.

Wednesday, February 4, Kessler and Bramly meet with Greenberg at Port Said.

Greenberg makes Bramly's acquaintance on the trip to Ismailia.

On Thursday, February 5, the expedition starts out on the

caravan road, either from Ismailia or from El-Kantara, toward Lake Sirbonia whose surroundings are to be explored first, to find out whether the lake, through dredging its deep spots and draining its shallow ones, may be used for a harbor and a city site.

Greenberg goes to Cairo to negotiate for the Charter.

The expedition will send all reports to Greenberg who will forward them to me by telegram or by letter.

Stephens' job is to investigate the harbor, the canalization from the Nile, the drilling of wells, dams—in short, all water problems.

Laurent's concern is all problems of plantation. I spoke with him in the presence of Nordau and Alex. I told him that we plan to start with a company with a capital of five million pounds and will later have the proportionate amount of money that corresponds to the capitalized tax power of the settlers. Therefore he should base his calculation of the feasibility of settlement not only on the factor of the natural resources available, but also on the other two factors, money and working power.

When we begin, we shall have the necessary financial backing, and the inexhaustible reservoir of Eastern Europe will supply us most cheaply with desperate masses of workers, who are therefore of the best quality. He is to report to me whether, taking these factors into account, colonization is possible, and what kinds of culture there can be.

Goldsmid's function is more decorative, but he will be useful for dealing with English authorities and, if need be, supplying military protection. As a quartermaster, too. He is in command of the movements which are decided upon in the expedition council under Kessler's chairmanship, with Kessler casting the deciding vote in case of a tie.

Oskar Marmorek is general secretary, in addition to his specialty, i.e., questions of housing and settlement, construction of roads, city planning, etc.

Dr. Joffe (if he goes along) is to study problems of climate and hygiene and make a report on this.

Bramly: general exploration of the country.



Kessler is chief, treasurer, and geological specialist. I have asked Warburg to wire Blanckenhorn for a brief statement (which we shall pay for) pointing out usable camping sites. I hope to find this statement waiting for me in Vienna and to give it to Kessler.

Three *sets*\* of maps are being prepared, one of which will stay with the expedition, one with Greenberg at Cairo, and the third with me.

I was going to suggest dividing the map into squares, so that the reports would only have to refer to the square where the expedition happened to be. But Col. Goldsmid has worked out something similar and even more ingenious for the English army: squared tracing paper which only needs to be mounted on the map. The squares are marked by letters. So we shall use that.

I think I have forgotten nothing, neither the code books nor life insurance for the travelers nor the phonographs which they are to use in their tent for the amusement of the bedouins in the desert.

I plan to buy presents for the bedouins in Vienna tomorrow.

\* \* \*

Authorization for Kessler:

My Dear Colleague:

As Chairman of the Actions Committee of the Zionist Movement and in the name and on behalf of the Inner A.C. in Vienna I hereby appoint you as leader of the expedition commissioned by us for the exploration of the feasibility of settling the northern half of the Sinai Peninsula.

You will be kind enough to follow the instructions given you, to the extent that conditions which cannot be foreseen in detail permit.

It will be your assignment to investigate and determine, with the help of the gentlemen of the expedition, the opportunities and possibilities for rural as well as urban colonization of the territory

\* In English in the original.

located on the Mediterranean between the Suez Canal and the Turkish border, as well as of its hinterland.

The route to be taken is, to begin with, from the point of departure, Ismailia or El Kantara, to the Lake of Sirbonia.

In the daily deliberations of the expedition you will determine the further course whose approximate destination should be the petroleum depots near Suez (you are not bound to this destination).

You will preside at these meetings, cast your ballot last, and have the decisive vote in case of a tie.

The minutes of the council will be taken by Dr. Joffe.

In addition to the record of decisions, a record of reports is to be kept in which the results of the day are to be entered each evening.

However, it is very desirable that besides this each member of the expedition keep a diary (to be purchased in Alexandria, together with fountain pens) and enclose concise extracts from it with the mail which should go off to me as frequently as possible.

I must receive the informational reports (carbon copies) *in extenso* [in full] with each mailing.

The gentlemen who have not yet given me a pledge, in London or Paris, not to publish anything about the expedition without my prior consent, either in writings of their own or in interviews, are requested to put this pledge in writing before their departure—preferably in a joint statement signed by all.

(Text: The undersigned, members of the expedition ordered and equipped by the leadership of the Zionist Movement to explore the feasibility of settling the Sinai Peninsula, hereby pledge their word of honor not to publish anything about this expedition either in writings of their own or in speeches or interviews, unless they receive the consent of the chairman of the A.C. beforehand.)

Mail is to be sent to Mr. Greenberg in Cairo who will forward it to me. Use every possible opportunity to send us news—preferably daily. Do not spare any reasonable expense in this. Do not hesitate to telegraph if need be.

And now, Godspeed!



As great collaborators, show yourself equal to the historic task that we are placing in your hands.

With Zion's greetings,

Sincerely and respectfully yours,  
Dr. Th. H.

\* \* \*

Hints for Greenberg, Kessler.

If Stephens unable to go along, an expert must be acquired in Egypt.

South as far as the Gulf of Aqaba.

Laurent rock-salt fertilization.

January 29, Vienna

On the train going to St. Pölten yesterday, worked out with Kremenezky, Kokesch, and Kahn the draft of the Charter for Greenberg.

Kokesch and I then copied it, in the coffee-house and finally at the station.

The Ostend Express came in; Kessler, Goldsmid, Stephens, Laurent were on it. We went on to Vienna with them; I discussed a few more details with Kessler. Then we gave them a *vin d'honneur* [stirrup cup] at the Südbahn [Southern Railroad] station.

Oskar arrived.

At 7 o'clock they left, bound for Trieste.

\* \* \*

I am now trying to get Trieste on the telephone, because I want to instruct Kessler not to lose a day in Cairo, contrary to his understanding with Greenberg.

January 29, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg: \*

Rabbis (Commission) left. Every day costs about forty pounds, and by your new arrangements at least three days are simply lost. I think therefore better that Rabbis go Monday at once to Marseilles. Hump (Kessler) with Pater (Goldsmid) will see Copy (Boyle) and prepare meeting Bauer for their return. Tuesday night they leave for Wilna and meet you.

Benjamin.

January 29, Vienna

Telegram to Kessler, Brindisi.

Please all go Cairo Monday, even without Greenberg. Kessler and Goldsmid call on Boyle, ask him whether introduction desirable now or on way back. Latter would be preferable. In any case, please arrive Ismailia Tuesday evening, at latest Wednesday morning, await Greenberg Wednesday, Thursday start out without fail, with or without Bramly.

Benjamin.

January 30, Vienna

Yesterday Greenberg requested me, for reasons he could not state in a telegram, to withdraw the instructions I had given Kessler.

Telegram to Greenberg: \*

Although I don't like confusions by withdrawing instructions I shall withdraw them if your letter contains sufficient reasons. You can post it on your way. I can get it Sunday in time to wire

\* Original text.



Hump to Avignon. I hope you leave tonight. Don't forget advise Woolf to send letters during absence to Joe.

Benjamin.

Telegram to Dr. Joffe:\*

Start immediately. Our friends won't wait. They will leave Ismailia next Wednesday. Meeting place Cook Agency, Chief Kessler. Wire me your arrival and address at Port Said or El-Arish. I prefer Port Said, if quarantine lifted.

Herzlingen.

January 31, Vienna

Wire to Joffe who sent a confused telegram:

*Partez vous immédiatement? Oui ou non* [Are you leaving immediately? Yes or No].

\* \* \*

Greenberg has asked for withdrawal of my instructions to Kessler and re-establishment of the London arrangement, because the Egyptian government is sending along someone other than Bramly.

February 1, Vienna

Telegram to Kessler (Cook, Alexandria):

Nasardant (*most important news*\*) disregard Brindisi wire. Greenberg's London arrangement valid.

Benjamin.

\* In French in the original.

\*\* In English in the original.

February 2, Vienna

Telegram to Kessler:

Joffe arriving Tuesday El-Arish, expects wired instructions for meeting.

\* \* \*

From Kessler:\*

Cookscamp has been put into quarantine for five days. Cannot start until eighth. Under the mentioned circumstances I (we) will proceed Cairo unofficially. Joffe may proceed Ismailia if it is not possible must remain until further orders El-Arish.

February 3, Vienna

Telegram to Joffe, El-Arish:\*\*

Friends detained by quarantine, will leave Ismailia Sunday. Await Kessler's instructions El-Arish.

\* \* \*

February 3

To Kessler, Cairo:\*

*Impugnais* (wire instructions direct to) Joffe El-Arish.

February 3

This evening Greenberg arrives at Port Said. He wrote and wired en route that Lansdowne and Sanderson have been in frequent touch with Cromer during the last few days, in order to get our expedition a substitute for Bramly, who can't get away before the end of February. The English and Egyptian govern-

\* Original text.

\*\* In French in the original.



ments would not want to accept the responsibility for the expedition if this replacement for Bramly did not go along.

Welcome. For if we accept the man, they thereby take a responsibility *implicite* [implicitly].

\* \* \*

Authorization for Greenberg, dated February 3:\*

Dear Mr. Greenberg,

In the event of any question arising, I am writing this to say that it is quite understood that in the matter of the negotiations and everything concerning the proposed settlement in the Sinai Peninsula you have the fullest powers to act on my behalf personally as well as on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Movement of which I am Chairman. You are at liberty to hold this letter and to show it to anyone whom it may concern, and I am prepared both in my individual capacity or as Chairman of the Executive Committee to replace it at any time that it may be necessary by a proper legal document.

Signed

Th. H.

February 5

Greenberg reports from Cairo that he will be received by Lord Cromer this morning and the Commission this afternoon. Satisfactory.

On Saturday (February 7) the Commission leaves Cairo, on Monday, Ismailia.

February 6, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg:\*

Chaulmage (have you communicated with) Joffe.

\* Original text.

February 9

Greenberg reports that the expedition left Cairo for Ismailia this morning. Today he will see Boyle (Cromer's chief official) and tomorrow, perhaps, Cromer and Boutros.

February 9

Today a little incident at the *N. Fr. Pr.*

Benedikt came into my room when Bacher happened to be with me. He asked me to wire Heyse and ask him if he cared to reply to Minister Hammerstein's speech. I looked like someone who hadn't read Hammerstein's speech in yesterday's paper. When he asked me, I admitted it. To this the ungracious lord said: "Well, if you don't read even that any more, you are a half-lost person!"

From his point of view, sure. I am a collector of old newspapers only in part any more.

I dropped the matter. I hope with time will come counsel.

\* \* \*

But the whole shameful irony of my situation lies in the fact that I have to let this finance journalist treat me *en bagatelle* [like dirt].

God improve it!

Letter:

February 10  
*Confidential.\**

Dear Lord Rothschild:

By now the seven gentlemen of our expedition are underway on the Sinai Peninsula to explore the area for settlement. For this expedition I have selected first-rate and highly reputed experts

\* In English in the original.



from England, the Transvaal, Belgium, Austria, Egypt, and Palestine. At the same time I have instructed our authorized agent to go to Cairo to conclude negotiations for the Charter.

I hope the expedition will return in just a few weeks safe and sound, and soon thereafter I hope to be in possession of the Charter.

However, I must prepare the further steps right away.

Your saying, Lord Rothschild, that you wish to help me has pleased me greatly, and I am grateful to you with all my heart for the aid you have already given me. We shall see what effect your intervention with Mr. Claude Montefiore and Mr. Lousada has had. As soon as I have the desired news from Cairo, I shall notify the gentlemen so that they may call a board meeting of the Jewish Colonization Association. They will probably call it for Paris, out of consideration for the continental members.

Now comes my big request of today.

I beg you, Lord Rothschild, to come to Paris for the days of this meeting; I shall also be there. I expect a decisive effect from your generally respected personal authority. If we can make the public subscription easier for ourselves in such a way from the outset, it is certainly sensible to save strength.

Another thing could be accomplished at the same time. Apart from the I.C.A. people, to whom I wouldn't care to confide everything, a discussion with Baron Alphonse and Baron Edmond Rothschild would be of the greatest value. I would meet the gentlemen at your place.

They could be of great help to us in the political part of the project, by nipping in the bud any misgivings that may arise on the part of the French government. As you probably know, French jealousy exists in this quarter, and your Paris cousins could easily allay it at the right place.

I hope to forestall the other political difficulty which I foresee as a remote possibility in my worries, an unfriendly attitude on the part of Russia, by going to the Czar myself. I have an access to him, but do not plan to go there until there is some distinct point to it.

Naturally, neither France nor Russia can frustrate the project once we have the agreement in our pocket, but they could cause

us trouble some day; and I am always in favor of clearing away the obstacles before one stumbles over them.

Above all, I don't want to lose any usable moment; then, when we have the Charter, we must turn the first sod in the autumn.

When our technicians return home, we must immediately set up a work schedule with them, and the migration must be organized. Of course, I have long-prepared outlines for all that, as well as a tight organization at my disposal, but the implementation requires careful action.

Then, too, our life span is a short one; and we have to hurry if we want to do good while we are still on earth.

I hope to have pleasant news from you soon, dear Lord Rothschild. Until then I am

Yours devotedly,  
Herzl.

February 11, Vienna

To the Grand Vizier (to be dated later): \*

Dated February 16

Your Highness:

I have the honor to return to a subject which I had discussed by Imperial order last year with H.H. Said Pasha, Your Highness's predecessor.

Invited on two occasions by H.I.M. the Sultan, who honors me with his lofty benevolence, I went to Constantinople in February and at the end of July to reach an agreement with the Imperial government about a financial transaction to be organized by the Jews. The basis of that arrangement would have been a concession for colonization granted to the Zionist Organization of which I am the leader.

\* In French in the original.



To my great regret we were not able to reach an agreement. But in dismissing me H.I.M. deigned to express his gracious disposition toward us and to say that I would be allowed to return with other proposals.

The misery of our poor persecuted people, however, has not lessened. On the contrary. Once again Spring will be the signal for a painful migration of our Rumanian Jews and others.

Under these conditions we have had to work at a practicable plan. And, in fact, at this very moment we are at an advanced stage of very serious negotiations with a government to obtain a colonial concession in an African country.

But at this supreme hour I have thought of returning once more to that place to which I am drawn by my well-known devotion to the august person of your master and by the sympathy that exists between your people and mine.

Much is said of the political difficulties expected in the Spring. You will perhaps need financial assistance. I am in a position to procure it for you without delay. Moreover, we are not at all demanding. The new proposal that I have the honor to submit to the lofty wisdom of the Imp. govt. is in every respect the same as the one we are submitting to the government with which we are negotiating for colonization in Africa.

There is only one difference. It is that we guarantee you in advance an annual payment of one hundred thousand Turkish pounds, whereas the other government does not demand and will not be given a previous guarantee.

The meaning of this guarantee is that you will be able *at once* to float a loan of two million Turkish pounds on this new security. My friends will make you this loan as soon as the concession is granted.

I am taking the liberty of submitting a draft of this charter to Your Highness.

This proposal may be summarized as follows:

You will grant us the right of colonization for our persecuted people, who will become Ottoman subjects, as the colony will of course remain under the sovereignty of H.I.M. the Sultan. And

not only will we bring you industrial and capital resources, we will also procure you a loan of 2 mill. Turkish pounds whose amortization will cost you nothing, being covered by the annual guaranteed payment of 100,000 Turk. pds.

I beg Your Highness to be good enough to take this proposal under consideration and to submit it to the council of ministers. At the same time I lay it at the foot of the Imperial throne.

I have the honor to remain Your Highness's most humble servant

Dr. Th. H.

February 11

Greenberg wires: \*

Commission started Kantara today. Have heard from Kessler all well. Have had interview with Cromer quite successful. I hope to see tomorrow Boutros with others of the Egyptian Government. Telegraph as soon as possible if I can find you Vienna all next week. Can most probably fix as much as possible about end of this or beginning of next week.

\* \* \*

Answer to Greenberg: \*

Sinuato  
Pinsk  
Welkend  
Laimodon  
Rumoren  
Chisel

I shall stay at  
Vienna  
All next week  
Do not leave before  
Charter signed by  
Egyptian Government

Laimodon Rumoren Chisel. Sinuato Pinsk Welkend.

\* \* \*

\* Original text.



Sire:\*

I have the honor to lay a new proposal at the foot of the Imperial throne in the present grave situation. Perhaps Your Imperial Majesty will need, in the near future, all the loyalty at his disposal; and if I were summoned with my friends to serve him, we would not fail.

There is still another reason that causes me to act now. In several countries the situation of our poor Jews has become so intolerable that we must find a refuge for them at any cost. That is why the Zionist Committee, of which I am the head, has entered into negotiations with a government that controls sufficient territory in Africa. These negotiations are quite serious and quite advanced. But at the last moment I return once more to the place to which I am called by my profound devotion to Y.I.M.'s august person and the secular sympathies between the Turkish people and the Jewish nation.

The proposal may be summarized as follows:

For a concession to colonize a part of Galilee we will procure a loan of 2 million Turkish pounds for the Imperial treasury.

The colonists would become Ottoman subjects and the colony would remain under the sovereignty of Y.I.M.

For greater clarity I have sketched a plan for a Charter, and I am transmitting it at the same time to His Highness the Grand Vizier.

The happy consequences of such a Charter granted by the generous Caliph would probably be immense.

Spread by newspaper cables to the four corners of the earth, the news would produce, outside of the immediate financial result, a current of friendship for the Turks among the Jews of the entire world, one that would grow from day to day, and, in these perhaps difficult times, the Ottoman Empire could count on unfailing gratitude.

May it please God to make me heard by Y.I.M. in this grave hour. I am and remain Y.I.M.'s most humble and obedient servant

Dr. Th. H.

\* In French in the original.

February 15, Vienna

Letter to Ibrahim:\*

Dated February 15

My Dear Excellency:

I have the honor to enclose herewith a letter for H.I.M. the Sultan, containing a *new* proposal relative to the Sanjak of Acre and to a loan of 2 mill. Turkish pounds.

I am at a very advanced stage of negotiation about a plan for Jewish colonization in Africa. Before bringing the matter to a conclusion, I wanted to apply one last time to that quarter where so many sympathies draw me.

I hope you are well and I beg you to maintain your good will toward me. Accept, my dear Excellency, the assurance of my high regard and of my friendship.

Herzl.

\* \* \*

Letter to Izzet:\*

My Dear Excellency:

Today I am sending H.I.M. a new proposal about which I am taking the liberty of giving you confidential advance information.

My new proposal might be acceptable. We are not asking much: only the right to colonize in the Sanjak of Acre in return for a guaranteed annual payment of 100,000 Turk. pounds, nominally based on that annual rent. The issue would have to be calculated at 80%, in order to allow a profit for the syndicate.

Since my last departure from Constantinople I have sought and found another arrangement for Jewish colonization, this one in Africa. But before concluding negotiations I am making one more attempt with you.

It would be so good for everyone if we could reach an agreement.

\* In French in the original.



I beg Your Excellency to maintain your good will toward me and to accept the assurance of my high regard and of my friendship.

Herzl.

\* \* \*

To Tahsin:\*

Your Excellency:

I now have the honor to lay a new proposal at the foot of the throne, one which I am taking the liberty of telling you about in advance and in confidence, a more advantageous one than my last.

We are asking only for the right to colonize in the Sanjak of Acre, in return for an annual payment of 100,000 Turk. pounds, and we are offering, based on this guaranteed annuity, a loan of 2 mill. Turk. pounds nominal value, issued at 80 per 100, the margin of 20 per 100 being sufficient to allow a profit for the syndicate.

I could now make another proposal, as well, for the consolidation according to a new plan of my friends: but as it is said everywhere that the consolidation is a closed matter, I should not like to take any steps in that direction without first having been invited to submit the new plan.

I beg Your Excellency to maintain your good will towards me and to accept the assurance of my high esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

February 16, Vienna

Today I finally finished all the letters to Constantinople and mailed them. Unfortunately late, because of all my other work (*feuilleton* about the actress Niese, and the like, for the *N. Fr. Pr.*, etc.), so that my parade had not reached Constantinople when my expedition started to cause a stir in Cairo.

\* In French in the original.

This is the reason I give to myself for Greenberg's telegram of today:\*

Have private information from Cromer that Cohns (Sultans) man here is doing all he can to oppose us. It is very serious. He is acting in conformity with instructions from the Sultan. Do not forget Khedive is subject to Sultan.

\* \* \*

To this I am answering:\*

Perexile	you may promise
Cohnsman	turk. Commissaire
Both	two
Guy	thousand
Months	pounds
after	after
Rumoren	Charter signed by
Chisel	Egyptian government

The idea of tackling the Turkish commissar's resistance with the Egyptian government by the *baksheesh* method is the result of today's conversation with Dr. Abdullah Djevdet Bey.

This new acquaintance has a curious origin. Djevdet thanked me for a review of his poetry in the literary section of the *N. Fr. Pr.* and asked me for an appointment. I invited him, and the conversation soon turned to my project. Abdullah Djevdet revealed himself as a Young Turk and a friend of the Jews. A second conversation gave me the idea of using him to translate my letter to the Sultan. He agreed to do so; I telegraphically cancelled Badi whom I had planned to bring from Constantinople, and in three laborious days Djevdet completed the letter and the Charter for the Sultan.

As a gift of honor I gave him a pair of diamond-studded cuff links. He was somewhat reluctant to accept them, and was more pleased with *Altneuland* which I also gave him.

\* Original text.



But then he started in: did I have someone in Constantinople who could talk with the Ministers? He was on very good terms with Memduh Pasha, the Minister of the Interior.

*Et de fil en aiguille* [And, going from one thing to another] the pock-marked man with the dark eyes told me all sorts of things. He said he had been one of the leaders of the Young Turks, but Memduh had "appeased" him. He now drew 1500 francs a month in his sinecure as "Embassy physician."

And he outlined for me a program of shares—but regarding which I expressly stated: not until after the Charter is signed—as follows: two thousand pounds each for Grand Vizier Ferid, Minister of War Hassan, Minister of the Interior Memduh, Minister of Justice Abdurrahman, Minister of Finance Nasif, Minister of Education Djellal, and the Sheik ul-Islam.

Probably others will be added. Further, I promised him £2,000 as well as £100 each for Memduh's secretaries (Taik Bey and Dr. Beha Bey), and while we were at it, another £100 for General Shükri Pasha's secretary, Captain Vasfi Bey. General Shükri Pasha, however, is to get a pair of horses—because he is the son of the Minister of War. Incidentally, tomorrow I am to call on Shükri. Djevdet plans to get him this very day to write to his father who is to win over the other Ministers. The Minister of War, according to Djevdet, is a billionaire, but he accepts even the smallest amounts, such as £2, as a present.

I easily agreed to all this, because I won't have any obligation until after the Charter has been signed. Then, too, I consider Djevdet's prices for the Ministers cheap by comparison with the Constantinople ones. Djevdet even spoke of only £1,000 to 1,500 per Minister, evidently because as a literary colleague he wanted to charge me a colleague's rates. As for himself, he declared his intention of collaborating *pour l'amour de la bonne cause* [for love of the good cause], whether he was given anything or not. When I offered him the Ministers' rate, he thought that a thousand would be enough for him. In any case, in this, as in all his behavior, he makes a wholly likeable impression. The fact that he too takes is simply the morality of his environment. He was visibly dumb-

founded when I told him in reply to a question that I myself took nothing in any form, that in fact I even contributed money to the movement. I believe this even made him suspect my "honesty." Can someone who doesn't take anything be honest?

Of course, we shall see whether his claims were merely those of an *hâbleur* [braggart].

He promised to write a supporting letter to Memduh this very day.

February 16

Today I received a pleasant letter from Lord Rothschild who enclosed an obsequious communication from the I.C.A., signed by Leven, which will gladly do His Lordship's bidding if at all possible.

February 17

I have been to see the Turkish military attaché, General Shükri Pasha. A young, effeminate pasha's son, 28 years old, but as son of the Minister of War in a high position, rich, indolent. I think I got him interested in the matter, and he promised to write his father.

Abdullah Djevdet will draft the son's letter to his father, and Shükri will copy it, according to Captain Vasfi Bey, a Georgian, who came to see me yesterday. Vasfi completed his military education in Cologne, as a Prussian officer. He is smart and good-natured, and says jokingly that his friend Djevdet is getting "hush money."

\* \* \*

In the evening, a wire from Greenberg:

He says it is impossible to obtain a Charter from the Khedive. He (Greenberg) had made an alternative proposal which was now being considered. He was acting in accordance with Cromer's instructions, awaiting the Khedive's consent, hoped to leave on Mon-



day, and planned to do only what was absolutely necessary in regard to my instructions about the Turkish commissar.

I wired back:\*

Elkaite	Do not understand what you mean
Alternative	
Mancinus	Please give full explanation.

February 19, Vienna, evening.

Wire from Greenberg:\*

Cannot leave until next Monday vessel not to go beyond Brindisi. It is urgent arrive London next Saturday week urgent I can call upon Sanderson. Can you endeavour to meet Paris last Friday in the month.

Telegraph whether you can, to enable me to arrange.

\* \* \*

My immediate answer to this:\*

Laquucule	I cannot leave
Desigual	What are you doing with
Wolf	Sanderson
Ufanidad	I do not understand
Talgbrot	Telegraph me fully
Accultos	Present state of affairs
Lamswel	Do not leave before all is arranged.

February 19, evening

I have received this telegram from the expedition:\*

\* Original text.

Camp opposite mount Casius lake Sirbon. Report posted. Kessler.

February 20, Vienna

Greenberg's actions are inexplicable to me. I can't get a straight answer out of him. He wants to go back to London. Why, I don't know.

He wires:\*

Your telegram to hand this morning the risk is too great telegraph by the ABC Code 5th Edition present state of affairs. Dan (Greenberg) is being closely watched. I think the immediate future prospect good. Cromer urgently advised I will see Sanderson soon as possible before next Monday week, if I can arrange satisfactorily. Boutros have made an appointment next Sunday. I cannot proceed Vienna within the time mentioned. What have you to propose if I do not meet Paris. Telegraph as soon as possible to enable me to arrange.

February 21

Reply to Greenberg:\*

Waldbrand	I am writing for
Cohn-matters	Cohn matters
Talookah	Telegraph date of departure and
	probable date of arrival to
Turin	Brindisi
Chaldron	If you cannot come
Pinsk	Vienna
Talgbrot	telegraph me fully
from	from
Turin	Brindisi
Najade	If absolutely necessary
Chaletos	I will come if possible
Juk	Paris.

\* Original text.



February 21, evening

In answer to this a long-winded and again vague wire from Greenberg:\*

If I can finish (with) Boutros will leave Monday morning vessel to arrive on or about Brindisi during Wednesday night. I can get Paris on Friday evening. Must arrive at London not later than during Saturday night. If you can see your way if you can proceed Paris much prefer to avoid delay arising from any cause whatever. If you cannot arrange satisfactorily I do not consider it absolutely necessary. Telegraph as soon as possible during the morning to-morrow morning if you can come Paris.

February 22, morning

Reply:\*

Chalazien

Juk

Waldport

Recru

I will not come

Paris

I am anxiously waiting

Report as soon as possible.

February 23, Vienna.

Late last night this wire from Greenberg:\*

*Mazzeltov* [Congratulations]! Document is received the signature (of) Egyptian government is in order. Very satisfactory. Further particulars will be sent as soon as possible by telegraph (from) Brindisi. Will leave tomorrow morning.

\* \* \*

\* Original text.

If I understand this wire correctly, he has received a letter of concession, but no Charter. I must be patient for at least another four days.

*Mais déjà mon imagination a brodé* [But my imagination has already been spinning fancies].

Made plans in the sleepless dawn.

As soon as I have the "document," I shall draw up the by-laws of the Land Company here with Kokesch and Kahn.

The board of directors of the J.C.T. will be convened at Vienna and raise the price of the shares to £2.

Then I shall have Rothschild assemble the I.C.A.

In the meantime the expedition will be back.

I shall let the Sultan know that I have the concession.

The Congress will be called for June.

The subscription of the Land Company will be handled either through the I.C.A. or by public propaganda.

But unfortunately I can't do the most necessary thing, resign from the *N. Fr. Pr.*!

\* \* \*

Letter to Crespi, who wrote me under the date of February 17 that everything could be obtained now for a million pounds:\*

February 23, Vienna.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter of February 17 too late, for on February 15 I had sent a much higher proposal to 363. I did not know that in your opinion 1 million would suffice.

But since I have not had a reply to this date, it seems that you and I were mistaken.

Like you, I believed that in the present circumstances they would need me. And I had another reason for making this *last*

\* In French in the original.



attempt now. My negotiations elsewhere are completed; a preliminary agreement will probably be signed next week. I cannot wait any longer. This time it is accomplished.

363 does not understand, or is being prevented from understanding, this opportunity. He is marching to his ruin. I regret this.

Best regards,

Herzl.

February 24

Letter to Wellisch.

He is to call on Faik Bey, the private secretary of Memduh Pasha, the Minister of the Interior (with the card of introduction that Abdullah Djevdet gave me), and tell him that each Minister will get £2,000 from me if what I demanded in my last letter is granted. Faik Bey himself will get a present too (£100).

\* \* \*

February 25, Vienna

This morning a wire from Kessler, dated El-Arish:\*

Arrived in good condition vicinity has made a favourable impression. No news from you since starting telegrams should reach here not later than 6th day of March.

Marmorek Laurent will leave end of this week.—(Oberati? Joskin?)

I presume these last words mean that they plan to call in Soskin.

Oberati—I have obtained

Joskin—Soskin, Palestine agricultural expert.

Thus evidently a replacement for Laurent who is leaving.

\* Original text.

February 25, Vienna

My reply to Kessler:\*

Tahmasp  
Nasmullen  
Naseberry

your telegram to hand this morning  
the news has given great satisfaction  
send all the news you possibly can.

February 26, at night

This evening I received the following peculiar telegram from Greenberg, sent from Brindisi:\*

Document agrees to concede territory in Leith to Check (Jewish Eastern Company) upon report of Rabbis and to create of territory a municipality. Latter was alternative to jam (Charter). Seeing Sanderson so that he may make (refrexutation?) to coln (evidently Cohn) in our favour. Think best if you cannot leave Vienna me to come to you after have seen Sanderson next week. Wire me Zionist what you wish.

\* \* \*

What strikes me unpleasantly about this wire is the obscurity of its wording. To whom has the "document" been given? To me, to the Trust, to Greenberg, or to whom? The Jewish Eastern Company is not yet in existence. Why didn't he come to see me first, anyway? According to my calculations he will arrive in London on Saturday where he won't be able to meet with Sanderson before Monday.

\* \* \*

I got up at the crack of dawn, because Greenberg's wire keeps me from sleeping, and am wiring him:\*

\* Original text.



*Greenberg voyageur venant de Brindisi* [To Greenberg, sea passenger on his way from Brindisi]:

I should like to congratulate you but I don't understand completely.

I regret that you came not to give me full particulars. I must know before all which part is conceded. Leith and Cork altogether, or not? If not the whole, I should call Rabbis back at once because they have seen enough and I want report. Please wire to Max 8 rue Léonie exact time of your arrival. He will wait you. I don't know yet whether it will be necessary to trouble you with travelling to Pinsk as you came not now. First I must see document and read your explanations.

Benjamin.

\* \* \*

To Nordau:

Greenberg is likely to be there at midnight today. I asked him to telegraph you his arrival. In case you don't receive anything from him, kindly meet the express train at the Gare [station] Lyon with Alex at noon tomorrow. Wire me whether results satisfactory, particularly whether he has Leith and Cork. My dispositions which I must make at once depend on it. Take down for me complete text of agreement.

Benjamin.

February 27, Vienna

Yesterday a very interesting report from the expedition also came.

Oskar paints the desert picture with good colors.  
Colonel Goldsmid gives a real English log-book.  
Kessler is brief and clear.

\* \* \*

Wire to Greenberg at London:\*

I hope I can congratulate you, I don't understand completely. First I must know if Leith and Cork altogether or not. If not the whole I should call back Rabbis at once because they have seen enough and I want urgently report. I don't know yet whether it will be necessary troubling you to Pinsk, as you came not now. First I must see document and read your explanations. I urgently request you not to speak with Courtier or anybody except Joe. Am writing.

February 27

Telegram to Kessler, El Arish:\*

Adizzo	Arrangements are in fair progress
Chiffrais	Have you arrived at any conclusion
Recroitre	When will the report be out
Sdegnero	Can you send
Durchoxar	durch [by] Oskar

February 28

Telegram to Cowen:\*

Issachar's silence inexplicable. He came not to me sent no letter nor gives full particulars. Please give me full report at once. Wire the important points and write the rest.

\* \* \*

In the evening I received a wire from Nordau for whom I had arranged a meeting with Greenberg via Modane. It is his impression that "Greenberg had obtained everything that can possibly be conceded in an official agreement."

\* Original text.



March 2, Vienna

Today came Greenberg's report and the "document." The report is the masterpiece of a not completely loyal agent. I had already concluded from Greenberg's conspicuous eagerness to avoid Vienna that he was unable to look me quite straight in the eye. This presentiment was fed by his long-winded and yet indefinite wires. He has been in Europe since Thursday morning, and only today, Monday, do I know where I stand.

The "document" is a rather inconclusive letter from the Egyptian Prime Minister, Boutros, to Greenberg about a Jewish National Settlement Company which is to be founded. It says nothing about either the Jewish Colonial Trust or the A.C. or myself as concession holders. In Greenberg's *draft*,\* i.e., the sketch for a Charter, of which he also, incautiously enough, sends me a photostat, the name of the applicant for a concession is conspicuous by its omission. It looks as though "L. J. Greenberg" was supposed to be inserted there at the last moment. And for this he took £200 for the first two weeks' trip, and for this second, three weeks' one, the *travelling expenses*,\* a letter of credit for £100, and on top of that a "credit" of £500 which we shall obviously never see again.

The Boutros document consists of hypothetical promises and very definite restrictions. The granting of a Charter is flatly refused. The only valuable thing is one concession which grants something *implicite* [by implication], although it too was intended as a negation: the statement that the non-Ottoman settlers must subject themselves to the laws of the land. I.e., the settlers need not be *Ottoman subjects*\* (if they were not brought there by the Land Company).

Greenberg's report effectively veils a fact which nevertheless peeps through for my textual-critical eyes, namely, that in Cairo G. didn't behave like an authorized agent at all, but like the boss and on his own authority. By doing so he didn't do the cause any good, I feel, and harmed himself in my eyes.

I am writing him:

\* In English in the original.

My dear Greenberg:

Many thanks for your report which I received today. The report gives me an excellent picture of the situation. But unfortunately it does not justify your *mazel-tov* wire. I don't see that we have attained anything worth mentioning. The Boutros "document" is a quite indefinite note with very definite rejections and restrictions on the very things we desire. I cannot and must not indulge in any illusions.

If you tell me now that no more could be attained, I must bow to your judgment of the situation, which you know better than I do.

On the other hand, even in this there are aspects of the situation which I know something about. When I wired you on February 16 "Perexile Cohnsman Both Guy months after Rumoren Chisel," I knew what I was doing. You could safely have followed my instructions and left the rest to me. But that is over and done with.

Furthermore, my dear Greenberg, you were wrong in not coming from Brindisi to see me—not to the head of the movement which had made you its authorized agent and representative, but to a friend who has gathered much experience in these matters over a period of eight years and with many sacrifices. Only now do I know why you were supposed to see Wolf today, Monday, because you did not tell me beforehand. If it is a matter of intervening with Cohn only—after all, I know Cohn much better than Wolf or anyone else in England does. Above all, you ought to ask me whether a stranger's intervention may not be downright harmful. It is true, I don't know even now what Wolf's course of action is to be. I have to await further information from you. But in any case, I could have given you useful hints for Wolf, whatever his plans may be. But that too is over, and we are not old women who gossip about closed matters.

But I wish to state for the record that you could easily have come to see me. You could have gone to Bologna on the same train you boarded at Brindisi. There you would have had a connection with the Vienna express (arrival at Bologna 1:05, departure 2:05). You could have arrived here on Friday evening. You would have stayed



in Vienna overnight, left Vienna on Saturday morning, and would have been in London on Sunday evening. You could have requested the meeting with Wolf by simply sending a telegram from Dover and easily have had it confirmed by this morning. The way things stand now, we can't do anything but wait for our expedition to return.

Today Kessler telegraphs me from El Arish that they will stay for about another month. Now they will apparently turn southward.

I shall inform you of major developments and wait for your news about Wolf, etc.

Permit me only to repeat to you herewith my request which I have already wired you: that you don't tell even a syllable to anyone but Joe—particularly not to Courtier. Please follow this faithfully, dear friend.

Mrs. Greenberg must be pleasantly surprised to see you again after such a short absence. Please give her my regards. She probably thought as I did that you would be gone longer and would only return with the Charter or with the Commission.

With the kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,  
Herzl.

\* \* \*

Yesterday a little incident with Prof. Kellner. I have an old liking for him. Before Greenberg's report, which so reduced our hopes, came and when I still visualized us on the threshold of founding a city and a country, the Pelusiac-Sirbonian city idea occupied me. I thought that in the founding of a city one ought to follow as far as possible the traces of an old settlement, for reasons of climate and meteorology. A city is an accumulation of experiences, observations of wind and weather over many decades and centuries. To be sure, in our historic times the climate of a region can change through deforestation, drainage, etc. But the sea and the shore area of Pelusium have probably changed little since

the times of Psamtik, apart from the cutting off of the Nile arm through the Suez Canal. So I thought that in old documents, especially in Greek historians, traces of the habitation of that time must be found. Therefore I planned to have Kellner, whom I had in mind for the position of secretary-general anyway, prepare a monograph about Pelusium and Lake Sirbon from ancient sources.

For this reason I let him in on the Egyptian expedition and explained to him what I wanted. But how chilled I was by his answer. I had expected jubilant enthusiasm. But that is probably found only among young people.

He said: "I don't want to be stupid any more, as I used to be. My answer is: Five hundred guilders."

I agreed to that. But when I received Greenberg's report I cancelled the assignment for the time being.

It is true, he is an overburdened and troubled teacher. But I too am overburdened and troubled. How much ought I to ask for, then?

March 2, Vienna

Wire from Kessler, El-Arish:\*

Commission considers charter desirable under favourable conditions. Until conclusion of inspection in a month's time cannot form an opinion with regard to conditions, (or if?) colonies practicable.

March 2

Wire to Greenberg, London.\*

Thanks for report, but *mazzeltov* seems unjustified. Your coming here now not necessary. Am writing. Do not speak with anybody except Joe. Kindly send another copy of report.

\* Original text.



March 3

Telegram to Kessler, El Arish: \*

Fangled	Finish as quickly as possible
Magallon	about middle of March
Greenberg	— — —
Refrayer	Mr. has now returned
Narguames	I will negotiate the business through you
and	— — —
Goldsmid	— — —
Repont	If you can return
Cairo	— — —
Maggiore	23rd day of March
Maggotish	25 — — — —
Impunium	Instructions will be sent very shortly
Cairo	— — —
Talgseife	Telegraph what you do.

March 3

I am now confronted with a new situation. I shall not send Greenberg to Cairo again if it can be avoided. Goldsmid will be good now; he is more of a diplomat than a soldier, anyway.

Matters stand like this, however. On the Sinai Peninsula the situation is confused in a way favorable to us. I must differentiate: Possession, power, and right.

The Egyptian government has possession, the English government has the power, the Turkish government has the right.

First I shall have possession assigned to me by the Egyptian government, then I shall demand from the English government as much power as possible, and, finally, I shall acquire the right to go with it from the Turkish government, *moyennant* [by means of] *baksheesh*.

My instructions to the new negotiators, Goldsmid and Kessler, will be in keeping with that.

\* Original text.

March 3

Katzenelsohn reports today that the audience with the Czar has moved within the realm of possibility.

March 8, Vienna

Greenberg wants to come here *now*; but now I don't want him to come. To his wire of today I am replying: \*

Do not come here. I shall probably leave. Kindly send express another copy of your report and my jam instruction which I sent you through Hump.

March 10, Vienna

My dear Kessler:

When you receive this letter in Cairo, your expedition will, with the help of God, be safely over. I don't know the final result, of course, but to the extent of our dear Col. Goldsmid's *log-book*\*\* that has reached me to date I see that the expedition has proceeded purposefully. Accept as early this my hearty congratulations and the thanks of the Zionist Movement.

Now, in the name of the A.C. I should like to entrust you with a second assignment which is connected with the one you have just completed.

You see, I wish to entrust Col. Goldsmid and you jointly with the completion of the negotiations which Greenberg started on my instructions.

On March 3 I telegraphed you to El Arish: "Finish (etc., p. 1432)."

Up to now I have had no reply to this from you. I account for this by the assumption that you have moved on to the South and have no mail connection.

\* Original text.

\*\* In English in the original.



You will find enclosed:

- 1) His Exc. Boutros' letter to Greenberg, revealing the fundamental disposition of the Egyptian government;
- 2) our draft of a patent;
- 3) our instructions regarding this;
- 4) the draft of a charter which Greenberg submitted to Lord Cromer, whose approval he received, whereas the Egyptian government declared it was unable to give such a Charter out of deference to H.M. the Sultan;
- 5) a joint power of authority for Col. Goldsmid and you.

The final result which you will achieve lies somewhere between Boutros' letter and Greenberg's draft which was approved by Lord Cromer. I think highly of Col. Goldsmid's diplomatic skill and your calm prudence.

Achieve whatever is possible! Try to complete matters as quickly as possible, for at Eastertime I am to meet in Paris with Lord Rothschild and other gentlemen in order to found the Land Company.

Today I am sending you only these brief suggestions in order to get this letter on tomorrow's Lloyd boat.

Laurent and Marmorek are arriving here tomorrow, Greenberg the next day. According to the outcome of these conferences I shall let you have amplifications or restrictions of the present letter.

I shall probably also send you written and particularly *oral* instructions by Dr. Adolf Friedemann of Berlin, one of our most trustworthy representatives.

With Zion's greetings,

Yours devotedly,  
Herzl.

Gentlemen,\*

As Mr. G. is no more in Egypt I withdraw the powers I had given him in the event of any question arising in the matter of the nego-

\* Original text.

ciations and everything concerning the proposed Jewish settlement in the Sinai Peninsula.

I hereby give you the authority to act on my behalf and on behalf of the Exec. Com. of the Zion. Movmt. of which I am Chairman. You can show this letter to anyone whom it concerns.

Should either of you be absolutely prevented from acting as our representative, the other may act alone.

Believe me to be, Gentlemen, yours very faithfully.

March 10, Vienna

Now Greenberg importunes me with wires: he wants to come here. *Matters of great urgency*,\* etc.

I am answering:\*\*

In your telegrams and letters I find not explained the necessity of your coming here. Kindly give me first the reasons by wire or letter. I cannot find presently any urgency before Rabbis return.

Nothing is changed since you left Marseilles unless you have got news unknown by me.

Benjamin.

March 11, Vienna

My dear Colonel Goldsmid,\*\*

the letter I wrote to Kessler is in the meantime meant for you also.

I am not able to put that in faultless English. Kindly excuse me, and let our friend Kessler translate it.

I had last week a letter from Mrs. Goldsmid who is quite well, as are your daughters. I sent her by wire news about you.

With kindest regards yours sincerely

Herzl.

\* In English in the original.  
\*\* Original text.



March 16, Vienna

Greenberg is here. He is unable to give me any better explanation orally. My impression is that he wanted to bypass me and get the whole thing in his hands. The reason he went back directly to London is that he didn't want to appear either in Cairo or in London as though he had to consult me or pay any attention to me. He wanted to speak only with Lord Rothschild. However, I had sensed that and by my repeated telegraphic prohibition (to make disclosures to Rothschild) had forced him to toe the line or rebel openly.

The conversations with him were unpleasantly exhausting, because I don't trust him now and always keep trying to look behind his arguments. He declares it is impossible to entrust Kessler and Goldsmid with the further negotiations. This could be done only over his dead body. But on the other hand, he refuses to return to Cairo immediately. He says that it isn't *round the corner*.<sup>\*</sup> All counter-requests he rejects as absurd and *ridiculous*.<sup>\*</sup> His greatest argument is that he knows Egypt and we don't. He says we must definitely do what he wants, i.e., let him act whenever, wherever, and however he chooses.

He doesn't want to go to Cairo now, but wants to wait until the Commission returns to England. He wants to have Stephens give him a report, etc. However, I don't quite see what intention he has behind that, for his arguments don't give me the impression of being complete. Nor does he look me straight in the eye. In short, the impression is deplorable, without my knowing anything definite, however.

Under these circumstances I have decided to go to Cairo myself, hard though it will be for me.

At today's session of the A.C., in Greenberg's presence, I am having Marmorek and Kremenezky, both of whom he considers more favorably disposed toward him, present a motion calling on me to go; for the time being I don't want him to realize that I no longer have any confidence in him.

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.

Meanwhile, things are already starting to pop in the Jewish papers. Dr. Joffe of Jaffa has committed indiscretions. The *Hayehudi* in London and the *Volksstimme* in Brno are running notices about the expedition.

We've got to hurry up.

March 18, Vienna

Letter to Rothschild:

*Strictly confidential.\**

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is to acknowledge receipt, with thanks, of your friendly letter of the 13th.

I am writing you only today because I had no clear results before.

I have satisfying reports from the expedition of experts which I sent out to explore the Sinai Peninsula. Three gentlemen of this Commission have already returned, while five others are still examining the southern mountain region in order to be able to furnish a complete report.

But even the results which are already at hand in the reports and memoranda show that the territory we have in mind is suitable for a great settlement. In addition, we have received a written preliminary assurance from the Egyptian government, granting the desired settlement to the Zionist Movement in principle.

This assurance has, of course, materialized with the cooperation of the English authorities, and its only condition is that the Commission we sent off come to the conclusion that the land can be settled.

As I have already mentioned, this conclusion has since been reached.

The Commission will return at the beginning of April.

Thus the eventuality to which our earlier conversations and letters referred seems to me to have come about.

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.



I ask you, therefore, to get the I.C.A. to convene in Paris where you too are planning to be at Eastertime.

From you, Milord, I have no secrets. But as of the moment I don't want to tell the gentlemen of the I.C.A. what I am confiding to you. I shall tell you the reasons for my caution in person.

Therefore I ask you to advise the president of the I.C.A., M. Narcisse Leven, who has written you, roughly as follows, either in writing or orally, through the London member Mr. Lousada:

"I (Lord R.) request you to convene the administrative board of the I.C.A. at Paris on Easter Sunday, April 12. I shall also go there and make an important announcement to the gentlemen."

For this announcement I shall send you, Milord, all the necessary material and documents, clearly arranged, two days in advance, in case I am prevented from coming to Paris myself. Today I am leaving for Cairo to put things in order with Lord Cromer and the Egyptian government. I hope to be back in Vienna on April 8, and in Paris on April 11.

By complying with my request to inform M. Leven of the foregoing, and of nothing but that, you will render our great cause an unforgettable service.

If you are willing to do this, I beg you to telegraph me the following words at Shepheards Hotel, Cairo: "*All right, Meyer.*"\*

With the kindest regards and sincere respect, I remain

Faithfully yours,  
Herzl.

March 18, Vienna.

Greenberg has already left. He did not improve the impression that his behavior so far has made on all of us.

He claimed he had to stay in London now no matter what. Thereupon it was decided that I should go to Cairo.

All of a sudden Greenberg too was able to go to Cairo. But it was too late. He realized too late that we saw through his game.

\* In English in the original.

Now he wants to follow me to Cairo—and he even telephoned from the station and asked for a fresh advance.

Which will then give him a thousand pounds for 3 trips.

\* \* \*

I am leaving this evening, via Trieste.



## Book Fifteen

Begun in Vienna  
on March 18, 1903



March 18, Vienna.

Confirmation that he will do as I request will be: *all right, Meyer.\**

March 18, Vienna

Telegram:\*\*

Kessler, Suez,

Lakplant Cairo Chascado Shepheard Electrify altogether.

Benjamin.

March 22

On board the "Semiramis" on the Mediterranean Sea, about 12 hours from Alexandria.

At Brindisi I received a wire from Greenberg informing me that Lansdowne wishes to speak with me *earliest possible.\**

Greenberg concludes from this that I ought to turn around at Brindisi and go to London instead of Cairo.

He evidently counted on my perhaps making a quick decision, perhaps too quick a decision, at Brindisi, where there was only an hour's lay-over, and trusted that Lansdowne's wish would be my command.

Under different circumstances I would have followed his advice at once. But since I have lost confidence in him, I quickly made my decision and wired him at London:\*\*

Kindly inform Schneider (L.) I shall come immediately London after having seen Bauer (Cr.).

Please remain therefore London.

\* In English in the original.

\*\* Original text.



Benjamin.

I certainly don't want to have him in Cairo now, and if it can at all be avoided, I shall see to it that he doesn't go there by himself either.

As for his wire to Brindisi, it is again purposely vague and tricky. It is not made clear whether L. or he (Gr.) wants me to turn back immediately.

\* \* \*

Tomorrow morning I plan to telegraph Humphreys from Alexandria that I am coming. Humphreys is to take care of my introduction to Cromer, Boyle, etc.

\* \* \*

At Brindisi I also heard from Oskar Marmorek that my wire to Kessler at Suez had come back because they had been unable to deliver it.

Tomorrow morning, at Alexandria, I shall telegraph to Kessler and Goldsmid again:\*

Just arrived am waiting Cairo Shepherds. Please come there at once.

Herzl.

\* \* \*

I shall also try through Cook's to have an express courier sent out into the desert to meet them. If necessary I shall send Dr. Friedemann, who boarded the "Semiramis" at Brindisi, to meet Kessler with a small Cook caravan.

March 24, Cairo

Arrived yesterday noon.

From Alexandria I had wired Kessler and Goldsmid at Suez.

I had asked Humphreys by telegram to call on me.

The first thing I did in Cairo was to get Cook's manager to have an urgent search for the caravan started by his Suez agent.

\* Original text.

In the afternoon Humphreys came, a young, inconspicuous-looking Englishman, blond, quiet, built like a tennis player, but with deep blue eyes.

I asked him to notify Lord Cromer and Boyle of my presence. (Greenberg couldn't have done any more than this for me either.)

In the evening I received a note from Boyle to the effect that Cromer wished to receive me tomorrow, Wednesday.

At almost the same time in the evening I received a message from Cook's saying that their Suez agent had reported the caravan was approaching—they had sent someone ahead to Suez to get their mail; there was also the following wire from Vienna:\*

Ramipare	Have received the following
Hump	Kessler
Admunitum	will most likely arrive
Suez	— — —
Magiares	26th day of March.

\* \* \*

In any case, I hope to have them here the day after tomorrow, at the latest.

\* \* \*

Letter to Boyle:\*

Dear Sir,

pray accept my best thanks for the message you were kind enough to send me.

I shall therefore have the honour to call on His Lordship tomorrow at 11 a.m.

Believe me, dear Sir, to be yours very obediently

Th. Herzl.

\* \* \*

\* Original text.



March 25, Cairo

Lord Cromer is the most disagreeable Englishman I have ever faced.

I entered his office at 11 o'clock. He came to meet me.

A tall old gentleman with a tendency toward obesity, a white moustache, and a high forehead.

The conversation was quickly underway. I gave a brief outline of our plan. When I mentioned that we wanted to build railroads, he interjected: "We'll talk about that later."

I: "Naturally we shall accommodate ourselves to the wishes of the British government in this."

I mentioned the report. We would need water, and from the Nile.

"I can't give you a definitive answer until my expert on this (the name was something like Gastyne) gets back, in about a month."

"We are asking," I said, "only surplus Nile water, what comes from the winter; the water that would otherwise flow into the sea, unused. We will build reservoirs for it."

In this connection I mentioned that by establishing public works projects we would employ about 20,000 people. From that I proceeded to the financial question and showed him the telegram from Rothschild which I received yesterday.

He scanned it with an imperious air and said:

"Very cautious. *He will discuss only.*"\*

After that I also showed him Rothschild's letter of February 13. I now believe that both were ill-advised. He must have thought R. was more deeply involved with us. His tone became cooler.

We also discussed the "rights." The immigrants must have none different from those of the Egyptians.

I said that I would prefer British protection for them. He said that would probably amount to the same thing.

He referred to Boutros' letter to Greenberg. We couldn't manage anything more than that. Within this framework, however, the Turkish government could have no objections.

\* In English in the original.

Then I asked whether I should call on Boutros.

"Yes. I already told him this morning that you are here."

And the Turkish commissar?

"No, he has no say here. I don't recognize him. Don't have any contact with him at all. Now then, I will wait for the return of your Commission and then see Humphreys, too."

He terminated the audience regally. A bit too much *morgue* [arrogance], a touch of tropical madness, and unlimited vice-regalism.

I think he didn't like me.

He said: "When is Dr. Greenberg coming back?"

I: "*My Lord, I don't see him coming back.*"\*

Incidentally, he had casually mentioned that he was willing to support the project.

However, not *in a hurry*,\* but *in a businesslike way*.\*

I left.

It may have been a mistake that I didn't speak French; I would have had an advantage over him.

\* \* \* \*

Then I drove to see Boutros.

An Egyptian Ministry in which the Egyptians can't give any orders.

Too many servants idling about in spacious waiting rooms.

I sent in my card and was immediately received by Boutros. An old, seedy-looking, obese man, a Copt.

At first we carried on a tourists' conversation and then got to the point.

"Where are you going to get the water from?" he too asked.

I briefly sketched our irrigation plans. Gold, too, would be an irrigation. He kept agreeing with me while we drank coffee *alla turca* [Turkish style], until the Austrian Consul was announced. At that point I took my leave.

I drove back to Cromer's house in order to call on Boyle, his secretary.

\* In English in the original.



Boyle was not in, i.e., he refused to see me.

A bad sign.

So that I have a miserable impression of this forenoon.

What mistakes I have made I presumably won't find out until later.

\* \* \*

When I got home, I found Kessler-Goldsmid's wire from Suez waiting for me. They will be here tomorrow.

March 26

The Right Honourable  
the Earl of Cromer, G.C.B. etc. etc.\*

My Lord,

I beg to submit to your Lordship the enclosed telegram which I received yesterday.

The commission will arrive this afternoon at five.

I have the honour to remain

Your Lordship's  
most humble and obedient servant  
Th. Herzl.

March 26, Cairo

I consider yesterday *franchement* [frankly] bad.

A large part of the blame for the failure goes to my weariness and exhaustion. I was not in full possession of my faculties.

An even greater mistake was my failure to call on Cromer's secretary, Boyle, on Tuesday. From him I could have learned the necessary things about Cromer's character and disposition, and would have been prepared to treat him accordingly.

\* Original text.

This way I became acquainted with the man only while I was losing the game. Or let us say: the first round.

\* \* \*

Yesterday afternoon I went to a lecture about the canalization of Chaldea by Sir William Willcocks, a locally celebrated authority in matters of irrigation. Chaldea is the land which the Sultan offered to me last year.

Apart from a few details, the lecture was dreadfully boring. What interested me most was the striking number of intelligent-looking young Egyptians who packed the hall.

They are the coming masters. It is a wonder that the English don't see this. They think they are going to deal with *fellahin* forever.

Today their 18,000 troops suffice for the big country. But how much longer?

It is the same English boldness and cold-bloodedness which makes them give the notes of the Bank of England only weak metal backing.

This boldness makes them magnificent *merchant adventurers*;\* but it also always makes them lose their colonies later.

What the English are doing is splendid. They are cleaning up the Orient, letting light and air into the filthy corners, breaking old tyrannies, and destroying abuses. But along with freedom and progress they are also teaching the *fellahin* how to revolt.

I believe that the English example in the colonies will either destroy England's colonial empire—or lay the foundation for England's world dominion.

One of the most interesting alternatives of our time.

It makes one feel like coming back in fifty years to see how it has turned out.

March 27, Cairo

Yesterday spent another day in a most unnerving state of waiting.

\* In English in the original.



The commission didn't arrive until 11 o'clock at night, in good spirits and brown as berries.

Then, in my drawing room and in the presence of the others, Goldsmid spent till 12:30 reading to me the report as I had roughly foreseen it.

I only wish that the first part of this sentence were omitted: "Under the present circumstances, cannot be settled—but if water is made available, it can be settled."

Also, the reason why we want to have the land up to the 29th parallel should not be mentioned.

\* \* \*

Today I am sending Goldsmid to see Boyle and am having the report *typewritten*.\*

March 28, Cairo

Yesterday morning the commission met at my hotel. I began listening to the oral reports and had the preliminary work plans sketched for me.

Stephens is the pearl of the expedition. It is true that he has a stutter, but his explanations are wonderfully clear and based on a great knowledge of the subject.

I sent Goldsmid to see Boyle; however, he came back two hours later and reported he had spent the entire time with Cromer, who had sent for him immediately.

Cromer had spoken with him in somewhat the same vein he had with me—but obviously for much longer.

This shows that Cromer wishes to deal with Englishmen. So I decided to entrust the continuance of the negotiations to Goldsmid and Kessler, since I don't want to have Greenberg operate here by himself any longer.

His advice (Brindisi wire) not to submit the report to Cromer but to Lansdowne bears the stamp of insincerity anyway. They all tell me—Kessler as well as Goldsmid and others—that it would

\* In English in the original.

run quite counter to English custom not to get the report into Cromer's hands first.

Therefore there are only two explanations for Greenberg's advice: either he wants to drag things out and gain time, or he wants to create hostility between Cromer and myself.

Cromer told Goldsmid he must have one of us here—*on the spot*\*—so he could send for him at any time.

This proves how right I was to instruct Greenberg to stay here until the expedition returned.

The reasons for his departure are getting more and more mysterious.

Levontin has sent word that Greenberg drew the £100 for traveling expenses although he didn't take the trip. We'll see if he returns it. But I wouldn't mind if he kept it.

March 27

I have decided to send the commission's report, which Goldsmid dictated to a *typewriter*,\*\* to Cromer with the following letter:\*\*\*

My Lord,

I have the honour to submit for your consideration the report of the commission that has just returned from the Sinai Peninsula.

I need hardly remark that should Your Lordship wish to see the members of the Commission, they will be happy to wait on you at any time you may be pleased to appoint.

I purpose leaving in the course of the week for London with the object of furnishing a copy of the above report to Lord Lansdowne, should you have no objection, and will be happy to wait on your Lordship before leaving whenever it suits your convenience.

I am, My Lord,

your most humble and obedient servant

Th. H.

\* In English in the original.

\*\* Translator's Note: Herzl obviously confused the English term for the machine with the designation of its operator.

\*\*\* Original text.



\* \* \*

Toward evening I made a call with Stephens which I believe was the best one to date: on Sir Hanbury Browne, the Under-Secretary for Public Works.

Sir Hanbury, who is retiring now, is spending these last days of his stay in Cairo on a Nile yacht.

We visited him on this *houseboat*.\*

A well-mannered, intelligent, quiet Englishman of some fifty years.

Stephens explained things to him, and I listened intently. I didn't understand much of the technical details, of course, but I did learn enough to join in the conversation, and not foolishly.

Sir Hanbury had already been consulted by Lord Cromer, since the chief expert, Sir William Garstin, is in Mombassa right now.

But Cromer had mentioned to Sir Hanbury an enormously larger territory—50,000 square kilometers—while only 250 are involved. For that, Sir Hanbury had declared, they could supply no water.

According to Stephens' explanation it turned out that only about two to three million cubic meters of water per day would be required, and those could be spared without any trouble, said Sir Hanbury.

This is a point won, and I will wave it under Cromer's nose.

But for me, a former poet, an even more affecting thing was the atmosphere on this *houseboat*\* on the Nile, with the sun setting behind palms in the fragrant distance.

And two English *engineers*\* were having an *up-to-date*\* discussion in technical jargon of the capacity of the legendary stream which was to be conducted to the parched land of the homecoming Jews.

\* In English in the original.

Whenever I didn't understand any of their figures and calculations for a while, I looked out the cabin window at the brown river, which flows along as it did in the days of Moses, our teacher.

March 28

At 9:30 a *telephone message*\* came from Lord Cromer: I was to come out there at once. Goldsmid had received the same message.

I took Stephens along too.

Cromer received us briskly, but not unamiably. He tried to address himself mainly to Goldsmid. But I had taken the first seat next to his desk which was my due.

The conversation was brief and to the point.

Cromer stated that we should now demand the concession from the Egyptian government.

(I had instructed Greenberg to hire a lawyer, but he had neglected to do so. The work we are just starting ought to have been ready by now.)

I asked whether we should use McIlwraith, the *legal adviser*\* of the Khedive, for this purpose.

No, a lawyer.

I asked His Lordship to recommend one to us.

He recommended Carton de Wiart.

Stephens corrected Cromer's erroneous assumptions about the size of the Pelusiac Plain and the amount of water necessary.

Cromer also remarked that granting the concession would take several months. However, the matter would be settled here and not in London. So he was miffed. Of course, I could send the report to London, if I wanted to.

He dismissed us.

Goldsmid found Cromer's statements *very satisfactory*.\*

\* \* \*

\* In English in the original.



Then I signed my name in the Khedive's guest book.

Carton de Wiart is an Anglicized Belgian of 50. I briefly told him what it was about and asked him to see me at my hotel in the afternoon, when I would give him instructions.

March 29, Cairo

Attorney Carton de Wiart was here. I gave him instructions. We will give up the word "Charter," but not the thing itself.

I think he understood.

I quoted to him what Talleyrand said when Napoleon was conferring with him and Sieyès about a Constitution.

"*Une constitution doit être courte et* [A Constitution must be brief and] . . ." said Sieyès.

"*Et obscure* [and obscure]," Talleyrand completed the sentence.

\* \* \*

He plans to have the draft of the patent of concession ready on Monday.

\* \* \*

I had asked Sir William Willcocks, the Tigris Canal man, to have lunch with me.

*Il faisait le beau* [He put on airs], i.e., he posed as the surmounter of all obstacles.

However, I want to keep him in my game.

\* \* \*

In the evening, a drive to the pyramids. Met Lord Cromer, the master. I regretted that I didn't have an elegant carriage, but only a shabby cab.

But perhaps he feels that I look more *businesslike*\* that way.

The misery of the *fellahin* by the road is indescribable.

I resolve to think of the *fellahin* too, once I have the power.

\* \* \*

I will have to be patient.

\* In English in the original.

March 30, Cairo

Yesterday's big thing was my conversation with the "*legal adviser*,"\* *de facto* [for all practical purposes] Minister of Justice, Malcolm McIlwraith.

He is a splendid fellow. A jolly Englishman, shrewd but honest, adaptable but firm. With him it was a meeting of minds quick as a flash. He is a hussar of laws.

At first he wouldn't admit me. It seems he didn't know my name, or he probably took me for only a bit player, which I evidently had stalwart Greenberg to thank for.

I wrote Greenberg's name on my card which the secretary had brought back, whereupon he asked me to come back in half an hour.

I came, and five minutes later we understood each other.

McIlwraith has a comical and characteristic feature in his often laughing face: he has cut his reddish moustache too short parallel to his upper lip. His purpose is clear: he doesn't want to bathe his moustache in his soup.

This is how purposeful everything he does, writes, and says is.

He laughs a lot, as if he were amused by all rogues and as if he regarded all people as blackguards or blockheads.

He talked *de omni re scibili* [about everything under the sun]. He gave me his report about the judicial year 1902. I read it this morning; it is absolutely first-rate.

I amused him with stories about Yildiz Kiosk. He enlightened me about Egypt's administrative situation, to the extent that I didn't already know it.

I think he was somewhat impressed when I told him that Chamberlain had helped me and that Lord Rothschild would handle the financing.

I mentioned how good our project would be for England.

"And where are the advantages for Egypt?" he asked like *pince sans rire* [a dead-pan joker].

\* In English in the original.



"The advantages for Egypt are of an economic character,"\* I said with composure. "At least the money which we bring in will be there."\*

"Yes, if it does not sink into the ground,"\* he joked.

*Bref, la cordialité la plus franche ne cessait de régner* [In short, the frankest cordiality prevailed throughout].

But I think he laughs most at the fez which he wears Khedival-Egyptian style.

In conclusion we arranged to meet with Carton Wiart tomorrow, Tuesday, when we plan to place the draft of a concession before him.

\* \* \*

In the afternoon I saw Attorney Carton, who informed me that Lord Cromer had sent for him the previous evening and discussed our project with him for an hour and a half.

So His Lordship is giving our matter more expeditious treatment than he wants to let on.

March 31, Cairo

Yesterday was a day of *piétinement sur place* [marking time].

Carton de Wiart seems to be the only lawyer in Cairo, for everything that happens is in his hands.

That is why he hasn't been able to draw up the patent of concession as yet.

But he has spoken with Mr. Roccassera, the Egyptian government's attorney. The latter recommended that he keep the concession brief (*ce qui me va parfaitement* [which suits me perfectly]); also, it should be only a *lease*\*\* and not a *freehold*.\*

I am demanding a 99-year lease and the fixing of the tribute according to the average of the last 20 years.

\* In English in the original.

\*\* In English in the original. Herzl here translates "lease" into German in parenthesis: also *Pacht*.

Today I will work out the patent with Carton myself.

\* \* \*

Col. Goldsmid asks, via Kessler, for another £150 "to send to my wife" as well as a letter of credit for *expenses*,\* if he is to stay here.

A bit expensive.

\* \* \*

*Questions de préséance* [Questions of protocol] are more important than one would believe. On the first day after the return of the expedition Dr. Friedemann, who is usually well-behaved, committed the mistake of taking the seat at the head of the table, which is my due.

As a subtle punishment, at the next meal I invited Goldsmid "to take the chair."

But Goldsmid is treating this as a permanent institution, now considers himself the head man, and—

—and demands too much for staying here.

\* \* \*

If I succeeded in getting the concession this week, I would leave the Nile water question *in suspense*\* and leave Goldsmid here to deal with it.

Then he'll get it from them.

April 1, Cairo

Yesterday morning I first went to see Mr. Carton de Wiart. He held his head, saying that he had had to put ice packs on it all night. A weak head. I think it was our contract, which he couldn't cope with, that caused him to rack his brains so. I helped him.

He had made a few measly starts on a draft for a concession—*et*

\* In English in the original.



*ça nous coûtera les yeux de la tête* [and that will cost us our shirts].

However, he does have the inestimable advantage of routine. The sentence "*la Compagnie pourra jouir . . . comme d'une chose lui appartenant* [the Company will be able to enjoy . . . like a thing belonging to it]" is worth its weight in gold.

I attached the greatest importance to taking over the wording of Boutros' letter to Greenberg, because that is already *terrain acquis* [ground won] and will save us complications. In Paragraph 14 the Nile water question was reserved for a later agreement—for which I will leave Col. Goldsmid here.

Carton breathed a sigh of relief when I had completed the contract for him.

At 11:30 we had our appointment with McIlwraith. The latter was already waiting for me and Goldsmid. He had a giant Englishman with him who was also wearing a tarboosh. The giant, a Mr. Buriant or something like that (name incomprehensible) was introduced to us as an important man. Probably a sort of section head.

Until Carton's arrival, Goldsmid's military humor footed the bill of a dragging conversation. Goldsmid is of the greatest usefulness for filling pauses.

Carton came, but didn't have the documents on him. They were telephoned for. Another 20 minutes dragged by in which all sorts of things were discussed: jurisprudence, travels, and the theater.

McIlwraith spoke about Brioux' *Robe Rouge* and about a court-room drama in which the Italian Novelli is appearing here now.

Carton's papers finally arrived.

Carton read our draft. McIlwraith grinned when he heard the Charter tinkling out of the concession.

The giant with the tarboosh, however, clamped down:

"That's a Charter. The sovereign rights are in it."

Which I disputed. I referred to Paragraphs 4, 5, and 10, which were taken over verbatim from Boutros' letter.

The tarboosh giant further took exception to the word *territoire* in Art. 6. That meant Charter.

I said that in French the word *territoire* had not only the international-law sense, but also meant a *suite de terrains*.

We are not asking for *terrains*; the soil is too bad for that. We can accomplish something only if we have a continuous area.

The giant also wanted to criticize the expedition commission.

But when he heard that the English colonel who was present had participated in it, he became milder. For such purposes Goldsmid is really valuable.

At parting I asked McIlwraith to expedite matters, because I had a whole general staff of engineers to assemble, as well as any number of other tasks.

McIlwraith amiably promised to do all he could. But a number of formalities were required. First of all, the government would make me a counter-proposal.

However, he believed that arrangements would be completed before I landed at Brindisi.

Would Goldsmid have *full powers*\* to conclude an agreement? Yes!\*

\* \* \*

In the afternoon I saw *Maître* [Attorney] Carton de Wiart.

Carton said the tarbooshed giant didn't have much influence. Incidentally, he (Carton) had gone back there again about something else and had overheard McIlwraith telling the giant he shouldn't make any trouble.

Lord Cromer too is well disposed toward our cause, in Carton's opinion (which I don't share). Carton didn't remember Cromer ever showing so much interest in any cause in 20 years as he was showing in ours.

I asked Carton to tell Lord C. (since he was going to see him that evening) that we have eliminated the Nile water question, in accordance with his wish, so we can get the concession right away.

\* \* \*

\* In English in the original.



Yesterday this wire came from Greenberg:\*

Perdrigon	What progress have you made
Chisel	Egypt. Govmt.
Najeranas	It is absolutely necessary I must know
Kalkleber	Negotiations still pending
Nardus Schneider	Lansdowne.

\* \* \*

I didn't give him any answer.

If Lansdowne wants to know anything, he can learn it more quickly through Cromer.

And my confidence in Greenberg is badly shaken.

Yesterday morning I wired him that I will leave on the 4th. That is all he needs to know.

April 2, Cairo

Yesterday, from my point of view, an idle day, and I don't know whether it was good or bad for us.

My proposal for a concession was evidently examined and weighed.

What will the Egyptian government's counter-proposal be like?

I now believe that it was a mistake to give Greenberg's *draft* \*\* to McIlwraith. For there is too much in it, while my draft contains fewer details and thus looks more harmless.

*Bref—attendre* [In short—wait].

I didn't hear a thing from the overworked Carton de Wiart yesterday.

\* \* \*

Baron Oppenheim, the German Legation Councillor, has twice left his card at my hotel and invited me to lunch today, although I have never met him.

\* Original text.

\*\* In English in the original.

On the other hand, the Austrian Consul, Baron Braun, hasn't even replied to my card which I had sent in to him.

Counterpart to Okolicsányi at The Hague.

As far as the diplomats of my fatherland are concerned, I don't exist. They treat me as though I were air, these idiots of whose existence not a soul will any longer have an idea when my name will still shine through the ages like a star.

April 2

The *luncheon*\* at Baron Oppenheim's (de Cologne) has been explained in a most funny way *indeed*.\*

A party of German professors and diplomats gathered in O.'s house, which is very tasteful in the Oriental manner. The host came waltzing in late: of below-average height, a scar on his cheek, officer's moustache, dashing, a trim waistline—a good, but somewhat too labored copy of a Prussian\*\* *Junker* [member of landed gentry].

All the discomfort of an alien, stiff society.

But when he asked me about my scholarly field, I felt even more uncomfortable.

"None at all," I said, for I guessed that he hadn't wanted to invite me in the first place.

The Mosses, a quaint mixture of *Mühlendammers*\*\*\* and *étrangers de distinction* [distinguished foreigners], were also there and thought things "elegant."

Only after lunch was I able to pull the host aside and ask him whether there wasn't some misunderstanding.

"You were kind enough to leave your card with me."

\* In English in the original.

\*\* Translator's Note: Here and a bit further on Herzl writes *preu'sche* instead of *preussische*, to mimic the clipped speech and stiff bearing of these would-be Prussians.

\*\*\* Translator's Note: Jews engaged in business on the Mühlendamm in Berlin.



"No, dear Baron, you did so first; you came to my place twice."  
"Once."

In short, it turned out that the first card had been left by mistake.

To be sure, he had known Gottheil in New York (that is what I had surmised, remembering one of G.'s letters); but he wouldn't hear of the Zionist movement, even asked me not to get him involved with it in any way. (*Plus O. de Cologne que jamais* [More O. de Cologne than ever]).\*

Whereupon I told him, by way of reply to this Jewish convert fear of his, about the Kaiser and the Grand Duke.

After that he claimed to be against Zionism from political experience. I felt sorry for him. This O. de Cologne scion is the best proof of what a life-long strain assimilationism involves.

A life-long comedy.

He acts the Prussian *Junker*; but I believe he would be happiest if he could say *sh'ma yisroel* [Hear, o Israel] when, in fencing, he is hit by a thrust in quarte.

And on top of it, Mr. and Mrs. Mosse, advertising agency from Berlin, who find him "elegant." What an effort these Jews make to play comic roles.

April 3, Cairo

Yesterday, after sunset, I went with Goldsmid to see McIlwraith. He received us in a tennis outfit. That's how he had just returned from the *lawn\*\** at Chesireh.

This time he made a doubtful face at our request for a concession. Mr. Bruniant, the giant with the tarboosh, seems to have brought him round in the meantime.

At any rate, he said that an immediate counter-proposal was out of the question. The matter would have to be put before the Cabinet, etc. The procurement of judicial personnel would cause

\* Translator's Note: A pun on *eau de Cologne*.

\*\* In English in the original.

excessive difficulties, for the language of the negotiations would have to be Arabic.

I referred to the example of Austria where there are also all sorts of languages in ordinary use. Interpreters would have to be resorted to. This was not exactly convenient, to be sure, but after all, the language question was a disease with which a state could live hundreds of years.

To this he agreed, with a grin.

And what about taxation?

We shall levy no taxes, and the *net profit\** is to come from the yields of the economy. But we cannot engage in the venture if the land and the people are free from taxes. The state will have only the Company and its books before it; *in dubiis* [in case of doubt], the Committee of Three.

The size of the territory requested by us was the chief misgiving. They are willing to give us plots all right, but no land.

"But as for us," I said, "we can use it only as contiguous territory. We are not real-estate speculators, such as exist here in Egypt. As a land speculation the undertaking we have in mind wouldn't be good enough. The land is worthless. We have to make something out of it first."

"And the duration of the contract? In 99 years the disposition of the land is to be withdrawn from our government. And what if you don't take enough pains to make the thing good?"

"It could be stipulated," I said, "that the concession will lapse if we don't make productive *investments\** in the amount of two million pounds within twenty years."

"Twenty years!"

"All right, let us say ten years. Actually, we shall complete the *investments\** of two million pounds very quickly. I would simply like to be assured of a liberal space of time."

And I kept coming back to the question of legal security. If it were certain that the English occupation would last, we wouldn't need so many precautionary measures. But we couldn't take it on

\* In English in the original.



our conscience to see the settlers exposed to Oriental caprice at some later period.

He understood that well enough.

As we were leaving, he started speaking German, and fluently, too.

"And yet you looked on while I was struggling with English?" I reproached him.

"No, it was pretty good," he jested, "your pronunciation is remarkably good."

"But the legal niceties were lost," I lamented.

But he said he had understood me.

However, this amiability shall not blind me to the fact that matters now stand considerably worse.

Today I am sending Goldsmid to see McIlwraith and requesting Greenberg's draft of a charter back, since it is only designed to confuse the issues, as well as being outdated.

\* \* \*

In the evening I sent Lord Cromer a letter which I had asked Goldsmid to draw up and in which Goldsmid is designated as *acting as my representative*.<sup>\*</sup> This draft from his hand replaces my promise that he will stay here only as my representative. Otherwise I would have a Greenberg No. 2.

My Lord,\*\*

I have the honour to inform you that it is my intention to leave Egypt by the Austrian Lloyd steamer on Saturday next, and to state that should your Lordship wish to see me before my departure, on any matter connected with the concession on the railway, I shall be happy to wait on you at any time you may appoint to-morrow, Friday.

Colonel Goldsmid is remaining in Cairo and will have the necessary power given him to act as my representative.

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Original text.

Thanking Your Lordship for the trouble you have taken in the affair of the Concession,

I have the honour to subscribe myself

your obedient humble servant.

Drawn up by Goldsmid personally.

April 2, 1903

April 3, Cairo

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This will acknowledge receipt, with thanks, of your friendly wire.

I have discussed everything necessary here with Lord Cromer and the Egyptian government and am leaving for Europe to-morrow. I shall stay in Vienna until Easter Monday and then go to London where I have some things to arrange with the government.

On the 18th I shall be in Paris.

Please telegraph me at Vienna (Address: Vienna-Währing, Haizingergasse 29) the date of your departure from London. Perhaps I can still see you in London.

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,  
Herzl.

April 7, on the Adriatic Sea

Aboard the "Bohemia."

I have given Goldsmid instructions to get from Cromer, if at all possible, the concession without Nile water, for the time being, but to leave the water question, since Cromer won't do it any other way, until Sir William Garstyn's return (May).

As soon as he has the concession, he is to see the Lesseps Company at Ismailia and secure the *wharf wall*,<sup>\*</sup> the railway station at Port

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.



Said, and one fresh-water siphon (from Port Said), while for the moment the Ismailia siphon should not be mentioned to the Suez people.

\* \* \*

This morning, at Brindisi, I received a wire from Goldsmid:\*

"Have had an interview with Cromer, no news, matters in consideration."

Cromer didn't want to receive me before my departure and wrote a cool letter of refusal, saying that *many modifications*\*\* would still have to be made in our draft before it could be accepted.

\* \* \*

I am now pinning my hopes on Chamberlain, whom I plan to see next week. He is more detached from the matter, therefore has a higher view of it—and does not know the value of the big tract of land I am requesting.

April 15, Vienna

Before my departure for Paris where Rothschild is expecting me.

Telegram to Goldsmid, Cairo:\*

Talgfett  
Paris Hotel Chatham.

Telegraph what you have done

Benjamin.

April 17, Paris

Yesterday the following from Goldsmid in Cairo:\*

\* Original text.

\*\* In English in the original.

Peregrino	Making as much progress as can fairly be expected
parchment	McIlwraith
Aftertopas	will be away for a short time
Paper	Goldsmid.

April 17, Paris

Yesterday, right after my arrival, had the showdown with Greenberg in the presence of Nordau, Cowen, and Wolffsohn.

I reproached him moderately, confining myself to reprimanding him for failure to follow my instructions.

At 6 o'clock in the evening I was with Lord Rothschild at 2 rue St. Florentin, in the truly princely house of Alphonse, the Rothschild reigning in France.

Pleasant eighteenth century in the drawing room.

Lord Rothschild had me report to him on the present situation.

His intellectual mediocrity is distressing; but he is a man who is truly good and devoted to me.

The conclusion of his wisdom (and helpfulness) was: I should prepare a memorandum which would be studied by the I.C.A.

The I.C.A. was in trouble right now because of the *bill*\* by which it hoped to straighten out its conflicting by-laws.

He also mentioned Zangwill's attacks on the I.C.A., everything vague, without conclusion.

The I.C.A. people Leven and Zadoc had been to see him; he had told them that he was going to see me today. He further told them that through me they had the opportunity of doing something great.

He recommended that I tell the I.C.A. only about El Arish and the most immediate settlement of 5, 10, or 15,000 families. Any further and bigger things they would consider a dream.

Finally, I told him to convene them for a conference with me tomorrow.

\* In English in the original.



He asked me to call on him in London next week, if we don't see each other before that.

Above all I should try to get my concession.

And other advice of that sort.

I said: "I want to know right now what I am at. Whether you will make the subscription for me or not. If need be I shall make it myself. If I was able to obtain the country (I hadn't quite yet), I shall certainly be able to raise the money."

He seemed convinced of it.

"Besides," I said, "that is chicken-feed: 5 million pounds for such a big undertaking."

He promised me that once I had got that far he would write to Jacob Schiff in New York and do everything possible.

I yelled at him so loudly that when I left an hour and a quarter later the three servants in the hall were trembling when they handed me my coat and umbrella.

\* \* \*

On the slip which is appended here I sketched the plan of action for him.

He advised me not to tell the I.C.A. about Pelusium for the time being. For that I would get the money in Manchester afterwards.

April 17, Paris

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Don't you think that a meeting with Baron Alphonse would be more important than a conference with the I.C.A. people?

I would like to clarify two things:

1) That I don't want a financial contribution to the cause from the Paris House of Rothschild either, but only moral support.

2) That I don't presume upon the I.C.A. to give money for anything *à fonds perdu* [outright], but only want it to participate in productive investments for a great Jewish colony for which I have created the necessary political basis.

If you think it is a good idea to bring me together with Baron Alphonse, I shall be at your disposal and his at any time up to and including Monday. I shall probably not leave for London until Tuesday.

Respectfully yours,  
Herzl.

April 18, Paris

Yesterday the reply from Lord Rothschild, saying he thought it better if I conferred only with the I.C.A. now.

In the evening a letter from Zadoc Kahn: Baron Alphonse had asked him to discuss the matter with me. I should call on him.

April 19, Paris

Result of yesterday's rather lengthy conversation with Zadoc Kahn.

He will arrange for me to meet with the I.C.A. members with whom I am not yet acquainted.

The I.C.A. will examine my proposals, since for the first time they contain something practical.

April 20, Paris

Went to see my "irreducible" opponent Salomon Reinach yesterday.

"*Puisque nous nous combattons, il faut bien que nous nous connaissions* [Since we are fighting each other, we should really know each other]," I said; and in this tone of *badinage* [banter] I continued the *causerie* [chat] which made him more and more favorably disposed toward me. In the end he wanted to keep me there for dinner, and when I was unable to stay because of Alex, he joined Alex and me at the restaurant. If Alex had not irritated



him again, I think I would have put a ring through his nose and dragged him to the *Université populaire* [University Extension], where Nordau was giving a lecture.

April 20, Paris

To Col. Goldsmid, Cairo:\*

My dear Col. Goldsmid,

many thanks for your very interesting log-book and kind letters.

In reply to your remark page 6 (April 10). "It is a matter for consideration" etc.:

You can, if such alteration is demanded by the Government have the concession made out "to Dr. Th. Herzl. *Président du conseil de surveillance du* [Chairman of the Council of the] *Jewish Colonial Trust Ltd. London.*"

And kindly observe: *conseil de surveillance*, not *conseil d'administration* [Board of Directors]. I am not a financial man.

I should prefer it to be given to Dr. H., *Président du Comité d'action du mouvement sionniste* [Chairman of the Actions Committee of the Zionist Movement].

Only as they probably would not like to raise on this occasion certain political questions relative to the boundary line, it is preferable to put there only my name.

I hope to go soon to London and to see Mrs. Goldsmid.

With kindest regards, my dear Colonel, I am yours sincerely

Herzl.

April 23, London

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Please find enclosed the report of the hydraulic engineer. The reports of the other engineers and agricultural experts deal with

\* Original text.

other aspects of the problem. Stephens' report will also give you an idea, although it treats only of the water questions and goes into greater detail on Pelusium than on El Arish.

This report isn't known to anybody yet. I am entrusting it to you alone and request that you return it tomorrow.

Faithfully yours,  
Herzl.

April 23, London

When I arrived Wolffsohn told me he had found out that Greenberg had taken about £1,000 from the Colonial Trust in uncovered checks.

This explains everything. If the concession had been in his name, everything would have to be made good.

The wrong-doing of this man is counterbalanced only by his splendid achievements.

I shall act as if I didn't know anything.

When the project is a success, he will be paid off and removed.

\* \* \*

Was at Rothschild's yesterday.

He reported that he had written to Zadoc Kahn: if the *bill*\* needed by the I.C.A. is to be passed by the House of Lords, Zadoc should write Lord Morley that the I.C.A. is *hand in glove*\* with Dr. Herzl.

Furthermore: Alphonse R. had vigorously declined to collaborate with us, because this was a political matter (Alphonse had guessed that)!

Edmond R., on the other hand, was delighted with the plan.

He (Lord R.) had also written to Jacob Schiff in New York to give us a helping hand.

\* In English in the original.



April 23

To Goldsmid in Cairo:\*

Naseberry  
Taladra  
Juedische  
London  
Benjamin.

\* \* \*

To Joffe at Jaffa:\*\*

How many hectares and money needed per family El-Arish valley? Consult Soskin by wire. Telegraph reply Juedische London.

Benjamin.

\* \* \*

I need these data for the I.C.A.

I also asked Stephens for project figures for El-Arish yesterday.

April 23, London

Answer from Cairo:\*

Parchment  
ragwool  
welfisches  
Dazzling  
Afanismo  
bloater  
welfisches  
Pater

McIlwraith  
will not be ready until  
next week  
It will not be decided  
until—arrives  
Sir W. Garstin  
next week.

\* Original text.

\*\* In French in the original.

April 24, London

With Chamberlain yesterday noon.

He received me amiably, like an old acquaintance. He struck me as having grown a great deal older and more care-worn, though still mentally alert.

"Since we last met, I have seen quite a bit of the world," he began. And in a moment we had got down to cases.

"I spoke with Lord Cromer about your project when I was in Egypt. What have you done?"

I told him, and referred to the Commission's report which I had sent him the day before and which was in front of him.

"That is not a favorable report," he said.

"Well," I said, "it is a very poor country; but we will make something out of it."

"I have seen a land for you on my travels," said the great Chamberlain, "and that's Uganda. It's hot on the coast, but farther inland the climate becomes excellent, even for Europeans. You can raise sugar and cotton there. And I thought to myself, that would be a land for Dr. Herzl. But of course he wants to go only to Palestine or its vicinity."

"Yes, I have to," I replied. "Our base must be in or near Palestine. Later on we could also settle in Uganda, for we have masses of people ready to emigrate. But we have to build on a national foundation, and this is why we must have the political attraction offered by El-Arish. But they don't understand that in Egypt. It is true that I wasn't able to make myself as plain there as I was here."

"There I was obliged to ask for a totally inadequate concession—in view of the political situation—and it only looks like a financial concession. As a land speculation it would be a bad deal. No one would give money for such a country. No one but ourselves—because we have underlying political motives. It should be clearly understood that we shall not place ourselves under Egyptian rule, but under British rule."

He: "I feel that things are likely to remain as they are. *We shall*



not leave Egypt.\* Originally that was our intention. I am able to tell you this, for I was in the government. We planned to pull out of Egypt again in the eighties. But we have had to invest so much money and now have so many interests there that we can no longer get out. Thus you and your settlement will share the fortunes of that British possession. Should a different solution ever turn up, and if your colony is strong enough, I am sure you will assert yourself appropriately."

We spoke about this and that.

"In Asia Minor," Chamberlain said, "we have fewer and fewer interests. Some day there will be a showdown over that region between France, Germany, and Russia—whereas we are increasingly drawn to more distant points. I am wondering, in such a case, what would be the fate of your Jewish colony in Palestine, supposing you have succeeded in establishing it in the meantime?"

I said: "I believe that then our chances would be even better. For we shall be used as a small *buffer-state*.\* *We shall get it not from the goodwill, but from the jealousy of the powers!*\* And once we are at El-Arish under the *Union Jack*,\* then Palestine too will fall into the *British sphere of influence*."\*

That seemed to make quite a bit of sense to him.

I spoke next about raising the money (through the I.C.A. and Rothschild). True, with 5 million pounds we couldn't go very far in that desert. The country would have to be made attractive, and then he, Joe Ch., would get credit for providing England with another colony.

His reaction to this, too, was not unfriendly. He said we would have to have Rothschild with us in any event, for the English government counted on him.

"We have him," I said. "Of course, I could also do it without him. The main thing is that I finally get the concession, otherwise I cannot go ahead. *Man's life is short*.\*"

\* In English in the original.

We also discussed the Jewish immigration. He said that the opposition to *aliens*\* was merely the effect of *competition*.\* The same thing could be observed in other parts of the Empire against other ethnic groups subject to England, e.g. in South Africa. I think he mentioned Indians who were being resisted in South Africa. Similarly, the government in England might suddenly be faced with the necessity of passing an *Alien Bill*\* against the Jews, because *popular pression*\*\* might be brought to bear on the government.

"If you allow me to say so, Mr. Chamberlain, I should prefer for England's glory that you do not make such a Bill. Drain them elsewhere, but don't make an *Alien Bill*."\*

In conclusion he promised me that he would speak with Lansdowne, so that pressure might be brought to bear on Cromer to expedite matters.

He accompanied me as far as the door, and helped me into my overcoat.

\* \* \*

In the afternoon I went to see Lansdowne. Good reception, futile conversation.

I presented (in English) everything I had in mind, left the report and the draft of the Commission with him for study, and also spoke about the I.C.A. *bill*.\*

At this point a remarkable thing happened: he asked me to give him a memorandum about the I.C.A. *bill*\* which he said he would turn over to his friend Lord Morley (on whom the *bill*\* depends).

Cowen, Greenberg, and Zangwill danced with joy when I brought them the news that I was commissioned to hand in an authoritative memorandum about the *bill*\* of the I.C.A.

Zangwill and Greenberg are going to draw it up.

\* In English in the original.

\*\* Translator's Note: In English in the original. Herzl obviously meant "pressure."



1476 THE COMPLETE DIARIES OF THEODOR HERZL

April 25, London

Rothschild thought the memorandum by Zangwill and Greenberg excellent. But he said I shouldn't tell the I.C.A. people about it.

April 25, before my departure

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is roughly how I imagine the letter to Mr. Hallgarten of Frankfurt (Charles Hallgarten, I think) which I asked you to write yesterday:

You have heard about his philanthropic and pro-Jewish activities. Therefore bespeak his warmest support in the I.C.A. of my project with which he will become acquainted. My project, to be sure, does not require a donation, but a sensible, productive capital investment which will not be lost. The letter should be addressed—today, if possible—to Grand Rabbi Zadoc Kahn, 17 r. St. Georges.

In view of the respect which everybody has for you this letter will doubtless produce an effect.

I will let you know the results.

My address in Paris will be Hotel Chatham, r. Daunou.

Respectfully yours,  
Herzl.

April 27, Paris

Yesterday morning I spoke with Philippson of Brussels, and in the evening, until midnight at Reinach's, with Claude Montefiore, Alfred Cohen, and Lousada. *Iterum atque iterum* [Again and again] the same arguments, refuted in the same way.

THE COMPLETE DIARIES OF THEODOR HERZL 1477

They seem amenable to Pelusium, but apparently they don't want to contribute three million pounds towards a total of five, but only one towards two.

April 27

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I have spoken with five of the I.C.A. people and let them read Stephens' report.

Their reaction was favorable, but they are making reservations. They don't want to give three million pounds, but, as I gathered from a remark made by Philippson (Brussels), only one million. Also, they want to confine themselves to Pelusium, because Stephens mentions, among other things, that a similar piece of land near Abukir yielded about 16 per cent net profit after a few years.

Financially speaking, Pelusium is the raisin in the cake, while El Arish is much more valuable to me politically. I need colonization in El Arish because it can be started at once, because I shall be alleviating a piece of misery, and because I can inspire the masses with it. Then, too, it is the beginning of a diversion by means of which we may forestall the *Alien Bill*.\* Now as before I consider this *Alien Bill*\* as one of the greatest moral losses that we are threatened with.

Now I ask you, Lord Rothschild: shall I agree to I.C.A. participation with a smaller amount and restricted to Pelusium that we would then have to raise approximately one million pounds by public subscription?

Your immediate reply will still reach me here in Vienna on Wednesday evening.

In any case, the treatment of the I.C.A. *Bill*\* of Lords is important. This bill is in your hand.

\* In English in the original.



House of Lords that could decide such a question differently from what Lord Rothschild proposes to it.

If you will just say a few words on this *bill*,\* in the spirit of the memorandum which I transmitted, after you approved of it, to Lord Lansdowne for Lord Morley, then matters will be in order.

Following your advice I didn't tell the I.C.A. people anything about the memorandum for Lansdowne. It will also be well if your statement on the *bill*\* does not get out beforehand.

With cordial regards,

Gratefully yours,  
Herzl.

Enclosure: the Lansdowne memorandum.

April 27

I am instructing Cowen to work out a memorandum for the I.C.A. and the subscription together with Stephens, Zangwill, Greenberg, and Kessler.

April 29, Paris

Following my conversation yesterday with the hidebound pedant Councillor-of-Justice Lachmann of Berlin and of the I.C.A., in which I demanded a clear answer from him as to whether the I.C.A. according to its constitution could give us the money and got no definite No from him, I told Nordau and Alex at lunch:

"I regard the game against the I.C.A. as won."

\* \* \*

*Quelle cour de miracles* [What a court of miracles] this administrative board of the I.C.A. is!

And the fate of a poor people is to depend on *that*.

\* In English in the original.

April 29, Paris

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Many thanks for your wire of yesterday and today's letter with the enclosure for Hallgarten.

Hallgarten is in New York. I shall forward the letter to him the quickest way.

I shall follow your advice and take from the I.C.A. what it gives; but I feel that we should not take any less than one million.

However, I consider it sensible not to let the people know for the time being that we shall accept less than three million pounds too. Anyway, they will not make a decision until their next meeting on June 7th.

I am now working out a memorandum for the gentlemen, and as soon as it is finished, I shall send you, Milord, a copy of each section—about the middle of May.

Tonight I am leaving for Vienna (Haizingergasse 29, Währing).

With kindest regards,

Respectfully yours,  
Herzl.

May 1, Vienna

Wire from Goldsmid, Cairo:\*

rundblume  
Bloater  
School  
mamede  
recuada  
Pater

I have had an interview with  
Sir W. Garstin  
Sir Eldon Gorst  
considering the matter  
nothing sufficiently definite to report  
Goldsmid.

\* Original text.



May 5, Vienna

Wire to Goldsmid: \*

galleine  
readmitias  
Brown  
Schneider  
hactenus  
hafertanz  
Window

Go ahead all you can  
You can rely upon  
Chamberlain  
Lansdowne  
Please hasten  
I (we) have  
British Govt.

May 5, Vienna

Goldsmid's reply: \*

tagarnina  
Pater

Telegram to hand, and it has every attention  
Goldsmid.

May 6, Vienna, evening

Bad news from Goldsmid: \*

Bloater  
ruodlieb  
ehering  
fivefold  
Fireman  
watermos  
Rumvet  
palmearon  
Pater

Sir W. Garstin  
he is opposed to us  
(he gives) estimate  
4,045 cubic meters  
Stephens  
supplying water  
Pelusium plain  
further particular by first post  
Goldsmid.

\* Original text.

May 6, evening

To Goldsmid: \*

paysage  
rundbild  
abocetado  
Bloaters  
offixi  
talagarsa  
taloneros  
Brown  
knodland  
Benjamin

Is it possible  
our application for a concession  
not accepted in consequence of  
Garstins  
Opposition  
Telegraph immediately  
Telegraph what I am to do with  
Chamberlain  
He is favorable, inclined to assist us.

May 7, at night, Vienna

Even worse news from Goldsmid: \*

Bauer  
abbasso  
abbattere  
Pater

Lord Cromer  
recommends abandonment  
have protested against abandonment  
Goldsmid.

\* \* \*

From Greenberg in Cardiff: \*

Am sending you from London most important communication  
and beg you immediately to cable Pater not to push on with present  
negotiations pending receipt by you of my letter let him delay  
things till then.

Issachar.

\* Original text.



May 8, morning, Vienna

To Goldsmid.\*

Desdemona Do nothing  
Wagring wait till you receive my instructions.  
Benjamin

\* \* \*

To Greenberg-Cowen:\*

Significatio London.  
laughable

Garstin opposed. Negotiations stand bad. We have no time to lose. You must wire me at once your news. Letters are too slow. If we interrupt now we risk to lose Courtier and Cigar.

Benjamin.

\* \* \*

To Stephens Newick, Sussex:\*

Garstin opposed. Estimate 4,045 cubic meters supplying. Kindly wire at once Benjamin Wien your views. What should we do? Which is the smallest amount we could accept?

Benjamin.

May 8, Vienna

Stephens replies:\*

"Think would pay financially to cultivate down to one third of estimate reducing water supply page 36 accordingly."

\* Original text.

May 8

From Goldsmid at Cairo:\*

Yes	In the absence of
abgekniert	water
waterboon	Pelusium plain
Rumvat	Cromer
Bauer	consider
choeriti	our application for concession
rundbild	success very doubtful
snobbish	Egyptian ministers
rundblik	Reply expected by
recopiait	about beginning of next week
welche	with regard to
ratapoil	Chamberlain
Brown	wait my letter of
laonde	6th may
manalgie	8th may
manamina	Goldsmid.
Pater	

May 8, evening, Vienna

To Cowen:\*

Chisel will decide begin of next week. Decision expected to be unfavourable, therefore Brown's intervention indispensable at once.

Benjamin.

May 8, evening

In reply to Greenberg's wire in which he says that nothing was known to the Foreign Office and that his telegram had referred to Willcocks' plan:\*

\* Original text.



I know Willcocks and his scheme perfectly, nothing for us. Pater wired me reason of G's opposition estimate 4045 cubic meters supplying water.

But of Pater's former communications I clearly understand that it is only a question of goodwill.

We ask only for the superfluous. Chisel can do it easily if willing. Now you must see Brown if possible tomorrow and explain him the necessity of his immediate intervention. Chisel will probably take formal decision begin of next week. Afterwards it would be too late and all the gained ground Courtier Cigar lost.

Benjamin.

May 9, Vienna

To Cowen:\*

Issachar has again other plans. I lunched with Willcocks and know his unpracticable scheme. You know I refused Cohn's proposition and as I ascertained Brown has no interest in it.

Please secure immediate execution of my instructions by Issachar.

He has now the idea of withdrawing Pater. I shall certainly not do that. Every delay would be fatal. Cigar would escape and perhaps Courtier too. If Issachar is not willing to fulfil my instructions concerning Brown I expect from his sincerity to let me know it at once.

Benjamin.

\* \* \*

For on top of all the difficulties there is the additional one that Greenberg wants to get something—probably money—for himself. From Wolffsohn I learned that G. took unauthorized credits of £500 to £1,000 from the J.C. Trust. Since the action was not

\* Original text.

above-board, Wolffsohn and Cowen examined G's books and found that he was deeply in debt, about £10,000 which he cannot pay.

To him our schemes seem to be the straw the drowning man clutches at.

And I cannot depend on his statements.

Considering the importance of his function as an intermediary, this difficulty is downright enormous.

\* \* \*

May 10, Vienna

To Goldsmid:\*

Fireman  
accongesto  
rapsaret  
cultivating  
dracenois  
rumvat  
watermos  
abritant  
dracenois  
galleine  
readmities  
Brown  
rukwind  
smerelli  
talgbrot  
Benjamin.

Stephens  
advice from—states  
I can make some reductions  
— — —  
33⅓%  
Pelusium plain  
supplying water  
according to circumstances  
33⅓%  
Go ahead all you can  
You can rely upon  
Chamberlain  
Take the best you can get whatever it  
Subject to confirmation by wire  
Telegraph me fully

May 11, evening, Vienna

The end of a scheme.  
Goldsmid telegraphs:\*

\* Original text.



Bauer	Lord Cromer
imbriglia	has informed
Pater	Goldsmid
Chisel	Egyptian government
raspatoir	refuses
altogether	
recouverts	reply expected any moment
chaldaic	shall I come
bildwort	Vienna
Augenweh	Austrian Lloyd
sbaglio	next Saturday
Pater	Goldsmid.

What has happened there I presumably won't learn until later. Did Goldsmid blunder, or did he think of himself? *Nous verrons tout cela* [We shall see all that].

First of all, I forwarded the wire to London, for Zangwill, Greenberg, and Cowen.

I believe that even Chamberlain can't do anything further now. It is simply all over.

May 11

Reply to Goldsmid:\*

tahapanes	your telegram to hand
halieto	do not come here before
sbaglio	next Saturday
thesicle	I will try what can be done
Benjamin.	

\* \* \*

To Ch. Hallgarten, Frankfurt, a.M.:

Dear Mr. Hallgarten:

In the enclosed letter Lord Rothschild tries to interest you in a plan that we should like to carry out for the benefit of our sorely suffering fellow Jews.

\* Original text.

I hope that the Jewish Colonization Association, in which you have such an important voice, will let itself be persuaded to join in the good work.

As soon as negotiations with the Egyptian government are completed, I shall inform you and your colleagues of the I.C.A. about everything necessary in a detailed memorandum.

Very respectfully yours,  
Th. Herzl.

May 12, evening, Vienna

Superfluously enough, Goldsmid reports once more:\*

narigona	Negotiations have fallen through
ecarteler	embark
sbaglio	next Saturday
Pater	Goldsmid.

May 13, Vienna

Letter from Goldsmid, dated May 6. The explanation: Sir William Garstin has declared that we would need five times as much water as Stephens stated; also, the laying of the siphons would involve tying up traffic in the Suez Canal for several weeks.

In the fruitful morning hours of yesterday and today I made the new plan which is necessary after the miscarrying of this scheme.

I started out from Chamberlain's Uganda suggestion—and hit upon Mozambique. I will try to get this inactive land for a Chartered Company from the Portuguese government, which needs money, by promising to meet the deficit and to pay a tribute later. However, I want to acquire Mozambique only as an object of barter in order to get for it from the English government the entire Sinai Peninsula with Nile water summer and winter, and possibly Cyprus as well—and for nothing!

\* Original text.



May 13, Vienna

I also suspected Goldsmid of acting, more than was proper, his own boss of the concession. I found a trace of this in his suggestion that the administrator of the colony (by which he evidently meant himself) should also be appointed governor by the government.

In the report that arrived today there is another trace! Namely, his writing to Sir Eldon Gorst that he had to supply information in reply to urgent cablegrams from London and Vienna.

From London? Who sent him a cablegram from there?

*C'est donc pour se donner une contenance* [So it is to make himself look important].

## Book Sixteen

Begun in Vienna

on March 14, 1903



May 14, Vienna

To Goldsmid:\*

Chalicore  
Vienna Benjamin.

Come as quickly as possible.

May 16, Vienna

I thought the Sinai plan was such a sure thing that I no longer wanted to buy a family vault in the Döbling cemetery, where my father is provisionally laid to rest. Now I consider the affair so wrecked that I have already been to the district court and am acquiring vault No. 28.

May 16

I was in doubt as to whether to start the Mozambique scheme through Nordau in Lisbon or here directly with the Portuguese ambassador. Decided on the latter, because Nordau's skepticism would settle like a blight on this germ of an idea. This way, to be sure, I shall be at the mercy of a probably clerical *hidalgo* [nobleman], for they wouldn't send any other kind to Austria.

May 16, Vienna

Letter to Joe Cowen, asking him to call a conference with Stephens, Kessler, and Greenberg at Zangwill's place and inform them of Garstin's report. Stephens, for his part, is to write me a letter I can show around (for Chamberlain and Lansdowne).

All conferees are to keep silent, including Greenberg, vis-à-vis Rothschild.

Greenberg is to request Chamberlain's help for acquiring part of it immediately.

\* Original text.



May 17, Vienna

Letter from Sir Eric Barrington, dated May 9 (forwarded five days late by Greenberg), re I.C.A. *Bill*.\*

I am answering Lansdowne under date of May 18.\*\*

My Lord,

allow me to thank your Lordship for the communication you sent me through Sir Eric Barrington with reference to the Bill of the Jewish Colonisation Association.

I think, there should be a clear understanding that the money of the Hirsch bequest is not going to be used to keep Jews in Russia etc. under the pretext of fitting them for Colonisation elsewhere. Hirsch's idea was to take the people out, and the money must not be used to keep them in. On the other hand it is quite clear from the failure of the Argentine colonies that the way to take them out is not by the creation of small colonies which would, and do, form no attraction. That can only be gained by broad and big schemes which recognize the national sentiment of the Jewish people; and therefore to fulfil Baron Hirsch's intentions the Bill should provide for such a scheme.

I have the honour to remain.

Your Lordship's most humble and obedient servant  
Th. Herzl.

May 19, Vienna

The local Portuguese Ambassador told Hechler, whom I had asked to get me an appointment with him, that I should have Rothschild present me to him (the Ambassador).

To do this, it would first be necessary for the Portuguese Ambassador to introduce me to His Baronial Grace.

I am writing to Koerber:

\* In English in the original.

\*\* Original text.

Your Excellency:

As you know, I am a sort of poor man's lawyer for unfortunate Jews, and as such I am quite busy. I am now occupying myself with a case of poor Jews in which I am to intervene with the Portuguese government, and for this reason I should like to speak with the local Portuguese ambassador.

This gentleman probably doesn't know me *ni d'Adam ni d'Eve* [from Adam], and if it isn't too much trouble for you, I would like to ask you for a few lines of introduction.

Let me take this opportunity to say that I have been following the well-deserved successes of your government from a distance and with sincere interest, and am glad to have seen things correctly back at the time I predicted that you would be in power for a long time.

With sincere respect, I am

Your Excellency's very obedient servant,  
Th. Herzl.

May 19, 1903

\* \* \*

To Plehwe:

Your Excellency:

My name may perhaps be known to Your Excellency as that of the leader of the Zionist movement.

The deplorable events at Kishinev force the pen into my hand—but not to bemoan what is irrevocable.

I hear from reliable sources that despair is beginning to take hold of the Jews in Russia. They feel that they are being delivered up to the evil instincts of the mob without protection. In consequence the elderly people are being seized by paralyzing fear in the activities of their livelihood, and the younger people are beginning to listen to the doctrines of revolution. Fifteen- and six-



teen-year-old children, who don't even understand the revolutionary madness preached to them, are letting themselves be deluded by theories of violence.

In past years it has been the great achievement of the Zionist movement to have given all these unfortunates a higher ideal that comforted and reassured them. This cannot have escaped Your Excellency's notice.

Now I am informed by very earnest people that there is a way of calming the desperate mood of our poor people at once—and this would be the granting of an audience to me by H. M. the Czar. This fact alone would have an immediate soothing effect, even if not a word about the course of the conversation should be made known.

I am used to justifying such confidence; proof of this is the fact that the substance of my repeated conversations with His Majesty the German Kaiser and with the Sultan has never reached the public.

I could use the occasion of my audience, if one were granted me, to give the government of His Majesty the Czar all desired information about our movement and to request its future aid.

Years ago I described the aims of our Zionist movement to the Czar in a memorandum written in French which H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Baden was gracious enough to transmit, and I received Imperial thanks for it.

The Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse, with whom I have the honor to be personally acquainted, as well as a Russian Grand Duke, were also kind enough, years ago, to intercede with His Majesty on behalf of my reception. Chance obstacle always interfered; on one occasion, at Darmstadt, it was the Czar's indisposition.

But now the occasion is so grave, and I believe that I can make, on behalf of the Russian government, a contribution so important for calming inflamed passions, that I herewith request an audience through official channels.

If my request is granted, may I ask that the *laissez-passer* [pass]

which I need for the trip be most kindly sent to me directly, or that telegraphic orders be given to the local Russian Embassy to issue me one. If need be, I am ready to leave this week.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deep respect, I am

Faithfully yours,  
Th. Herzl.

\* \* \*

Letter to Pobedonostsev:

Your Excellency:

I am taking the liberty of enclosing for Your Excellency a copy of a letter which I sent off today to Minister von Plehwe, with the request that you support my application.

May I explain what emboldens me to make this request.

I once spoke with a well-known writer about the bleak situation of the Jews in Russia, and mentioned the prevalent view that it was your fault. To this my friend said: "Let me tell you a story. A few years ago I was in Marienbad (or did he say Carlsbad?) and went walking on forest paths. On a deserted path I passed a wretched-looking beggar woman of pronouncedly Jewish type. Hardly was I a few steps past her when—whom should I meet? Pobedonostsev! I let him pass and then turned around, because I wanted to see how the notorious Jew-hater would behave to the Jewish beggar woman. But how great was my astonishment when I saw him stop in front of her, reach into his pocket, and give her a coin."

Naturally Your Excellency no longer remembers this infinitely trivial incident which made a remarkable impression upon me. I believe that was when I began to understand official Russian anti-Semitism. Russian statesmen are up against one of the most complicated problems of government, and they would probably prefer it if it could be solved without cruelty.



Should my request for an audience be granted, may I even now request the honor of being received by Your Excellency.

Begging Your Excellency, etc.

May 23, Vienna

Bertha von Suttner, whom I have asked for assistance, is writing the following letter to the Czar which I shall have sent off sealed by Ambassador Kapnist:\*

Your Majesty:

Some Jewish subjects in Y.M.'s Empire have requested the head of the Zionist Movement—Dr. Theodor Herzl—to beg an audience with their puissant Sovereign. Such an audience would bring hope and peace to restore a people driven wild with terror.

Mr. Herzl had previously been recommended, through the intercession of the Grand Dukes of Baden and Hesse, for the favor of being granted an audience, without having been able to obtain it. Now he has requested it through official channels, addressing himself to Messrs. von Plehwe and Pobedonostsev, who would themselves probably be glad to see that a little calm could be reborn among the desperate. One does not leave 7 million wretched people in fear of being assassinated.

But for the audience to become a reality, a sign from Y.M. would be required, and for Y.M. to give that sign, some confidence in the person of the petitioner would be necessary.

For many years I have been a friend of his; I saw him at work in 1899 at The Hague, performing services for the Peace Conference—services that were recognized by Messrs. von Staal and von Bloch; I esteem him as an outstanding writer and a courageous champion of all humanitarian movements. The sovereigns of Germany and Turkey have had long conversations with him. But now, if he were received by the Emperor of Russia, he would be able to promote the peace of the Empire and of mankind.

\* In French in the original.

And who am I to dare to convey this request to the foot of your throne in my own voice? Your Majesty knows, I believe, that I am only a simple servant of that sublime ideal of which Y.M. is the most powerful Champion in the world, the ideal of Peace.

And it is by appealing to this ideal, by remembering that the Czar is not only the lord and father of his subjects, but—better than that: the apostle of a universal cause, that I have found the courage to write these lines in the hope my request will be understood and granted.

With the deepest respect,

Your Majesty's humble admirer  
Baroness Bertha Suttner.

Harmannsdorf Castle, May 22, 1903

Covering letter from Mme. Suttner to Count Kapnist:\*

My Dear Ambassador:

The letter herewith enclosed contains the offer of a great service that someone wishes to render to the Russian government.

This person (it is not I, but I vouch for his integrity) has made the condition that the matter be communicated directly and under sealed orders to H.M. the Emperor.

I remain, Your Excellency,

Most respectfully yours,  
Baroness B. von Suttner.

May 23, Vienna

Koerber writes me today that he has given me an introduction to the Portuguese ambassador, Count de Paraty, directly.

I am now writing to Count Paraty:\*

\* In French in the original.



Dear Minister:

H.E. Prime Minister von Koerber has had the kindness to introduce me to Y.E.

Will you do me the honor of receiving me one of these days?  
Please accept the expression of my high regard.

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

\* \* \*

And to Koerber, thanks for his kindness.

May 23, Vienna

From Greenberg a long, good report about his conversation with Chamberlain on the 20th of May.

Chamberlain is offering us an area for colonization large enough for a million souls, with *local self-government*.<sup>\*</sup> Not in Uganda, but in that vicinity.

I am telegraphing to Greenberg:<sup>\*\*</sup>

Having Paters report, who left yesterday for London, I consider Cork impossible for next years. We must take therefore Browns proposition into serious consideration, provided it is really advantageous. I agree with your letter page six from first to fourth line. I beg you therefore to ask him at once for details. If his proposal is suitable, I should like to have ready the outlines, instead of Cork, for Cigars meeting seventh of June, which had to decide upon now abandoned matter.

May 26, Vienna

Yesterday I went to see the Portuguese ambassador, Count Paraty. A shabby-looking, feeble man of some 50 years, whose first attempts at acting aristocratic I beat down by my nonchalance.

I explained matters to him and asked him to inquire of his gov-

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.

<sup>\*\*</sup> Original text.

ernment whether it was willing to give us a Charter for an adequate territory. Being lazy, like all diplomats, he asked me to write such a letter for him. However, I refused to write to the Minister for Colonies and the Navy. I was willing to write a private note setting forth my wishes, and the *question préalable* [preliminary question]. He mentioned his son-in-law, who was a colonial and yet an artillery officer. Showed me the picture of the dissipated-looking young man.

Then he apologized for not having received me upon Hechler's introduction. Now he would be able to write his government that he met me through the Austrian Prime Minister.

I am now writing him: \*

My Dear Count:

As I had the honor to tell you yesterday, the preliminary question to submit to the Minister is the following:

Is there a territory sufficiently habitable and *cultivable* by Europeans? The settlement would embrace at least fifty thousand families.

As for your son-in-law, if you would be good enough to get him interested in our affairs, this is what I would permit myself to ask of him: that he send you, or directly to me, the reports of the last general meetings of all the colonial companies.

He would be able to obtain the complete collection at the Ministry of Finance. The study of these reports would give us some useful indications about the agricultural, industrial, and commercial possibilities of systematic colonization on a large scale in these countries.

Pray accept the assurance of my high regard.

Herzl.

May 26, Vienna

Today, in the fruitful morning hours, it occurred to me: perhaps a Trust of all the Portuguese land companies that seem to have

<sup>\*</sup> In French in the original.



failed could be established. They would be glad to give up their bad shares in return for the shares of a big land company. Paraty told me the *Cie de Mozambique* [Mozambique Co.] was almost autonomous, had protective troops, etc. Perhaps I could obtain options and then get Nile water and Cyprus for these.

May 30, Vienna

Now I have to swallow the bitter pill and cancel the I.C.A.  
To Zadoc Kahn, dated July 3:  
My Dear Grand Rabbi:

When I had the pleasure, a month ago, of speaking with you and your colleagues of the I.C.A., I informed you that for your next meeting I would supply all the material that you would need to reach a decision about your participation in colonization on the Sinai Peninsula.

The reports of our Commission, etc. actually were completed and ready for me to send off—when a development arose which made their despatch pointless for the time being.

We had already received oral and written assurances from the government. Our plan had been approved in principle.

Then, at the last moment, the Department of Public Works declared that they could not let us have the amount of Nile water we need for a sound implementation of the plan.

Under these circumstances we have to abandon the whole scheme for the time being. This is all the more painful to me, and probably to all of you as well, because the Kishinev riots have once again demonstrated how great the distress in the East is.

I am trusting my whole communication of today to your discretion and I ask you to inform only the members of the I.C.A.'s board of directors of it on a strictly confidential basis.

Respectfully yours,  
Herzl.

\* \* \*

May 30

*Strictly confidential.\**

Dear Lord Rothschild:

My whole Sinai plan has broken down. Everything was ready. It now depended simply and solely on Sir William Garstin's verdict as to whether we could get the Nile water that we needed. However, after his return from Uganda Sir William questioned the calculations of our engineer, Stephens. He declared that we would need five times as much Nile water as Stephens had calculated, and Egypt could not spare that much. With this the whole project collapsed.

A great deal of time and effort as well as some money have been lost, but I am not discouraged. I already have another plan, and a very powerful man is ready to help me. As soon as I get to the point where I can make an announcement, you shall be the first one to learn it. I assume that you will want to hear about it, and that you will continue to be ready to help—with which, of course, I never have a financial contribution in mind, but only your counsel and influence.

Kindly tell me whether you have received an answer from Mr. Schiff in New York and whether he is willing to go along with a sensible, great plan for aid. When he comes to Europe, I should like to talk with him at your house.

Kishinev is not over. The effects are yet to come. According to my information, a terrible fear has taken hold of the Jews in Russia. The immediate consequence will be a new emigration movement. Where? To America? To England? Henry Norman and Evans Gordon have a chance to get an *Alien Bill*\* through.

With sincere respect,

Yours,  
Herzl.

\* In English in the original.



May 30, Vienna

Joe told me he had recommended to de Haas that he suggest at the Conference of American Zionists a Congress of the Powers for the Solution of the Jewish Question, to be convened by Roosevelt.

I thought this idea brilliant and immediately wired de Haas:\*

Joe Cowens suggestion is mine. Get conference and press them to demand a Congress. Teddy should call it.

Herzl.

June 3, Vienna

Dear Mr. Hallgarten:

I am sorry to have to inform you that the project of great immediate help for the poorest among our brethren has come to naught at the last hour. This eliminates the necessity of submitting the very voluminous material to you.

At any rate, I thank you for the willingness which you expressed in your friendly letter of 5/18, and remain, with deep respect,

Sincerely yours,  
Herzl.

June 3, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg:\*

Quite agreed your suggestions Brown. Go ahead at once.

\* Original text.

June 4, Vienna

To Izzet:\*

Your Excellency:

Time passes, and I hear nothing about my last proposition, dated February 16, 1903.

But events are pressing. You have certainly heard about the Kishinev atrocities. Our poor Jews are certainly miserable, and something must be found for them.

Perhaps we could make some arrangement that would be a combination of the proposal you made me in February of 1902 (the memorandum of February 18, 1902, at Yildiz Kiosk) at the command of your august master, and my last proposition. That is, an arrangement for colonization in Mesopotamia as well as in the Sanjak of Acre.

In a few weeks our Zionist Congress will convene, and if I haven't obtained anything by then, I shall be obliged to announce that all hope of concluding an arrangement with the govt. of H.I.M. the Sultan is gone. And we shall be obliged to find some other territory. There will be no lack of opportunities.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the assurance of my high regard and my devotion.

Th. Herzl.

And I am enclosing, in a separate envelope, the following lines:\*

My Dear Friend:

Permit me to call you that and to speak as a friend.

How much do you want for yourself if the scheme works out?

Write me the amount and the way in which I should make it available to you on an unsigned piece of paper, and put it in a sealed envelope on which you put only my name.

The bearer of this letter will not know what it contains. You can

\* In French in the original.



entrust your reply to him. Everything will remain absolutely secret, between you and me.

If the scheme does not work out now, I must give it up forever.

Your sincerely devoted friend

Herzl.

June 4, Vienna

Confidential.

Dear M. Reinach:\*

I regret to inform you that the project which almost united us has run aground. We are unable to obtain enough Nile water.

I am embarrassed to communicate this unpleasant news to your colleagues who, I believe, were not displeased to see a refuge opened to all the unfortunates with whom you are concerned.

But—and this is between us—I still have a glimmer of hope; and if my efforts are successful, I count on you—yes, on you, my distinguished opponent—to support my proposals on your Board.

Believe me to be, dear M. Reinach,

Very sincerely yours,  
Herzl.

P.S. Another thing, one of lesser importance. We have been offered for sale some territory in the Valley of Jezreel. The seller is a Mr. Soursouk, of Beirut, I believe. I am told that he said: "Either the I.C.A. or the Zionists will buy this land from me." It would seem, then, that certain speculators want to make a profit from what they believe to be our rivalry. Manoeuvres of this sort are easily thwarted if we forewarn one another. As for me, I will inform you about this even without reciprocity. I shall let you know at what price we are offered land in Palestine. If you don't breathe a word of this to anybody, perhaps we shall be able to ex-

\* In French in the original.

pose one or the other of the shameful speculations which you have told me about.

Mr. Soursouk asks 25 francs per dunam, which, according to our reports, isn't worth more than 15 to 18 francs.

If you wish to buy, we shall withdraw. If you do not, state this plainly to Mr. S., so that we may buy at a better price.

June 11, Vienna

Yesterday I went to see Paraty the Portuguese. He still had no answer from his government.

If I should decide to go to Lisbon, he wants to give me introductions to the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Navy (Colonies).

Overnight I weighed the idea of going there. I telephoned Privy Councillor Jettel of the Foreign Ministry and told him that I wanted to see him today. But an hour later I heard about the assassination of the Serbian royal couple, which means that Jettel probably has no time today. So I missed the appointment, at which I was going to ask him for introductions to the Austrian representatives in Madrid and Lisbon.

I had called the A.C. to my house and acquainted them with my new Portuguese-African plan. Kokesch raised his eyebrows and declared himself flatly opposed to it. Kahn was in favor. Kremenzyk saw its rightness after I had explained things, i.e., that we shall be able to demand Palestine with more force and vigor once we have a gathering place assured under public law. Marmorek accepted my idea only insofar as it aimed at creating an object of barter for Sinai.

I had their reactions put down in a memorandum that I shall keep.

June 14

I am giving up the trip to Portugal for the time being. *Qui trop embrasse mal étreint* [Grasp all, lose all].



The English government could—in fact, would be bound to—find out if I took steps in Lisbon, and that could have undesirable repercussions in the Nairobi plan. First I want to have that Charter.

Greenberg wires that Chamberlain has written him he is willing to receive a preliminary draft of an agreement and to propose to the government that they consider it.

June 16

Telegram to Greenberg:\*

If Cohns operation fails there is chance for sixteen. Please consult immediately Joezang about quickest steps to be taken failure depends from haven. Decision in a few days.

Benjamin.

June 17, Vienna  
*Strictly confidential*

Dear Lord Rothschild:

Today I have no time to tell you in detail what new scheme I am working on now. You shall learn everything in time! All I will tell you now is that the key people who were willing to help me with the matter you already know about are completely on my side again.

Today I come to you with a very urgent matter. I have reliable news from Constantinople to the effect that we have an excellent chance to get a *good* piece of land from the Sultan if the consolidation miscarries. As everybody knows, the consolidation is counter to British interests too.

With your huge influence in financial circles it will probably be a trifling matter for you to keep the *Syndicate of Foreign Bondholders*\*\* from giving their consent to the consolidation.

\* Original text.

\*\* In English in the original.

For a man of your power, Lord Rothschild, it is a small matter, and the help which you will be giving thereby is enormous.

Please do it right away!

With sincere gratitude and respect,

Yours,  
Herzl.

June 18, Vienna

Yesterday asked coal-Gutmann to cooperate in thwarting the consolidation. He is to speak with the manager of the Kredit-Anstalt.

June 18

Kann writes that he can get the interested parties in Holland to side openly with England, in order to thwart the consolidation.

I am wiring him back to do so most speedily and forcefully.

June 18, Vienna

Yesterday I ran into the Portuguese Count Paraty on the Graben.

He said to me as he passed:

*Pas de réponse* [No reply].

\* \* \*

Djevdet brings me a Constantinople attorney, Adil Bey, who would also like to participate.

Adil Bey is said to be of a Salonica Jewish background. A descendant of Sabbatai Zvi's Marranos, then.

Makes an overly shrewd, disagreeable impression, Nuri Bey's type. And sure enough, he is mixed up with Crespi.



June 19, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg:\*

If you cannot do it without Courtier, then leave it alone.

Benjamin.

June 19, Vienna

To the Constantinople attorney Adil Bey—if the Charter is obtained—2,000 Turk. pds.

Further, to Taik Bey the Chamberlain, £2,000 too in that case.

June 29

I am sending York-Steiner to New York as manager of the Bank's branch, so that he can organize the local *East End*\*\* for me financially and establish a Jewish Mutual Insurance Company with which we shall then reach back to Europe.

\* \* \*

June 30, Vienna

To the Cairo attorney:\*\*\*

My Dear Attorney Carton de Wiart:

Although I appreciate your thoughtfulness, I cannot permit a reduction in your fee.

I have given instructions to have a check for a thousand francs sent to you at once, but I do not feel that this squares the account between us, and I ask you to be good enough to let me know the full amount of your bill.

I have asked my friends to take advantage of your presence in

\* Original text.

\*\* In English in the original.

\*\*\* In French in the original.

London by having a board meeting and getting your advice about what possibilities may exist.

Assuring you, my dear Attorney Carton de Wiart, of my gratitude and high regard, I am

Yours devotedly,  
Herzl.

July 8, Alt-Aussee

To Mme. von Korvin-Piatrovskia.  
Most Respected Lady:

Unfortunately I cannot give you the best of reports about our Zionist movement, in which you showed such kind interest.

Our endeavors, I am sorry to say, were not properly appreciated in the very places where they ought to be understood best.

Under these circumstances it will be difficult to produce any major achievements.

Recently I made one attempt to find some effective help in Russia, because I thought that those in authority would realize by now how right our arguments are and that there is only this one solution of the Jewish Question.

I wrote to Messieurs von Plehwe and Pobedonostsev and asked them to arrange an audience with the Czar for me. I wanted to combine two things by this. The fact of the audience was to soothe our poor, excited people a bit.

You certainly know that our poor people are very receptive to such signs of sympathy from the highest places. Secondly, however—and this *in merito* [on its own merits]—I hoped to take this opportunity to present to Minister von Plehwe a plan for organized emigration without re-entry and to request his cooperation. You see, I am firmly convinced that he would understand me. I can see from everything, even from the contradictory and unreliable news-



paper reports, that he is worried about the situation of the Jews and that he would very much like to find a solution with good grace.

But unfortunately I had word from my valued friend Baroness Suttner, who in turn has it from Count Lamsdorff, that I shall not be received by the Czar. In the meantime, to be sure, tempers have cooled down a bit by themselves.

But as for my other desire, to have a thorough discussion with von Plehwe about starting emigration and getting him, the most powerful man in Russia, interested in it—something that would be felt as a relief on all sides—this desire has remained.

And yet I cannot quite bring myself to approach the Minister directly once more, because he still has not answered my letter of May 23rd. I understand, of course, that in his position he cannot write me immediately. Yet I am afraid of appearing indiscreet if I were to send another letter.

I now remember that you have connections with Mr. von Plehwe.

If you do not regard it as an imposition, I would beg you to ask him whether he is willing to see me. I shall come to St. Petersburg any time he pleases.

Assuring you, dear Madam, of my continued sincere gratitude and admiration, I am

Your ever devoted  
Th. H.

July 12, Alt-Aussee

To Count Paraty, the Portuguese ambassador at Vienna: \*  
Dear Minister:

Thanking you for the communication dated July 8th which you did me the honor of sending me, I would beg to observe that I have never had any other idea than to proceed in accordance with the laws of the Kingdom.

\* In French in the original.

I believe that by word of mouth we could make our position clear both on the conditions to be met and the advantages which we would be able to offer. For this reason I shall undertake the trip to Lisbon when my affairs permit me. This will probably be in the month of September. I shall not fail to notify you of it in advance.

Pray accept the assurance of my high consideration.

H.

July 12, Alt-Aussee  
*Strictly confidential.*

Dear Mr. Philippson:

About the first letter with which you honored me there was a strange coincidence which I didn't immediately inform you of, because I wanted to give the matter my mature deliberation first.

You see, after the regrettable break-down of our El Arish-Pelusion plan I had realized that in the face of the growing distress we must nevertheless set about bringing aid on a comprehensive scale—if not east of the Suez Canal, then elsewhere. With full maintenance of our Palestine program, which, to be sure, we cannot immediately put into practice, and on a national basis in any case, we must create a place of refuge secured by public law. Of the various schemes that come under consideration I will mention to you only the one in which you may be able and willing to participate: in the Congo State.

Just when I received your first letter I was weighing the idea of going to see King Leopold. The Grand Duke of Baden, whose friendly attention I have had for many years, would readily have given me an introduction, since I didn't consider the official channels through the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Ministry noiseless enough. However, I hesitated to go ahead with this, because I wanted to see first how the cat would jump in the debate about the Belgian Congo, and for other reasons of general policy.



I have now made up my mind and ask you whether you want to participate in this. For the present the matter is none of the I.C.A.'s business, and whether it will ever be we will see later. For the time being the matter lies only between you and me, in confidence, which I have taken in you. Even if you don't care to participate you will, as a man of honor, keep my secret.

Do you have personal connections with the King? Can you sound him out? The Congo State has land enough which we can use for our settlement. We can take over part of the responsibilities, that is, pay an annual tax, which may be fixed later, to the Congo State, in return for which we naturally lay claim to *self-government*\* and a not too oppressive vassalage to the Congo State.

These are the great outlines, the principle. If King Leopold turns a willing ear to the matter, I shall go to see him at once.

If you had already prepared him, I would not bother to ask for an introduction from the Grand Duke to whom propriety would then require me to report all further developments and agreements. This would in turn result in the German Imperial Chancellery's getting a running account of everything; and that might, under certain circumstances, have its disadvantages.

Begging you to let me know your opinion soon, I remain, with high esteem,

Yours,  
Herzl.

July 16, 1903, Alt-Aussee

Dear Mr. Philippson:

Many thanks for your esteemed reply.

I am not unaware of the fact that there are great difficulties in settling in the Congo State, although my knowledge of these things is still slight at the moment and, in any case, cannot compare with your comprehensive experience.

\* In English in the original.

Actually, I wasn't thinking of starting colonization immediately, but thought first of all of having a suitable territory found for us, perhaps in the southeastern part of the country, in the regions of higher elevation.

But since such an expedition would involve substantial expenses, we would have to assure ourselves of a Charter in advance, because otherwise the financial sacrifice wouldn't be balanced by chance of success.

If our Commission came to the conclusion that settling our people there would not be advisable, we would not, of course, undertake it. But you must bear in mind that we have, alas, such a desperate element of settlers that we can even go to some place where things are too bad for others. But we have to have the powerful stimulus of a national character in the settlement. So, if you wish to assist me in the realization of this plan, I beg you to ask the King whether he is willing to discuss the matter with me—quite secretly, for the time being.

In any case, this accords well with King Leopold's ideas, for it is clear what value such a settlement would have for safeguarding and developing this land.

I, in turn, want to help you to the best of my ability in the matter you touched upon. I only regret that I did not know your plans in this direction earlier. How much I could have accomplished through personal intervention with the master himself!

But I would strongly recommend that for the present you say nothing to your I.C.A. colleagues about both matters. The two of us would have to have a thorough talk about them first.

With a respectful greeting,

Faithfully yours,  
H.

July 18, Alt-Aussee

Telegram to London:\*

Issachar or Joe must urgently see to-day Courtier. I learn that now Viennese Courtier may be able to prevent *Einiges* [some

\* Original text.



things]. That would be of greatest importance for us, and I therefore beg Courtier instantly to wire to the Viennese asking him to prevent *Einiges*. Kindly wire me fully.

Benjamin.

July 21, Alt-Aussee

Telegram from Greenberg: \*

Courtier says that people you name have no influence in matter but that the ones in tabby (French) country have, and he is writing there in direction you desire to-day.—

Which is a tremendously important step, even if it remains unsuccessful.

Because Courtier will be furnishing a precedent by making the policy of his house favorably disposed to my ends.

July 21, Alt-Aussee

Philippson definitely declares that he won't participate, saying that the Congo is absolutely unsuitable.

July 23, Alt-Aussee

Mme. von Korvin has procured an audience for me with Plehwe "who is looking forward to making the acquaintance of so interesting a personality as Dr. H. and will *de tout son coeur* [heartily] support emigration without the right of re-entry."

I am wiring Mme. von Korvin:

Heartiest thanks for your and his great kindness. Needless to say, I shall be there on time.

But would regard it as a special favor if it could be five or six days sooner.

Respectfully,  
Herzl.

\* Original text.

July 30, Alt-Aussee

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I inform you in deepest confidence that I am going to St. Petersburg next week in order to accomplish something for the Jews, an improvement of their situation.

I am already assured of being received by the chief personages. Nevertheless I should like to ask you to give me an open letter of recommendation to Minister of Finance Witte. I know from a good source that he respects you highly, and therefore it can be of the greatest value. A few lines will suffice, since I have other introductions as well. It will be enough if you write Witte that he would oblige you if he supported me in my endeavors undertaken for the benefit of the Jews.

Since I cannot wait for your letter here, kindly address it to Hotel de l'Europe, St. Petersburg. But I shall be there for only two or three days. So, if you care to fulfil my request you would have to be good enough to do it at once.

I shall let you know the results of my trip.

With kindest regards,

Gratefully yours,  
Herzl.

July 30, Alt-Aussee

Reply prepaid.

Pauline von Korvin, St. Petersburg:

Kindly wire me whether the *passepartout* [pass] will be sent to me here, since I am leaving Alt-Aussee Tuesday morning.

Respectfully,  
Dr. Th. H.

Here follows all of Book XVII, which had to be started afresh on account of my trip to Russia.



## Book Seventeen

Begun in

St. Petersburg

August 7, 1903



August 7, 1903, St. Petersburg

All the way from the border, where we were rigorously searched, an uneventful trip across a dreary landscape which finally reminded me of tundras.

My journey had been kept a secret from my colleagues; but wherever it had nevertheless leaked out, they were awaiting me: at Warsaw, Vilna.

They are so badly off that I, poor devil, seem like a liberator to them.

Katzenelsohn, my good companion, crammed me with instructions on the way.

At St. Petersburg I was struck with my first sight of these strange ways—most of all, with the *isvoshtchiks* [droshky drivers] and the over-colored, over-gilded churches.

At the hotel there was no letter of recommendation from Rothschild to Witte waiting for me. His lordship pleads "*present circumstances*."\* Is it opportunism or *cowardice*?\* Or is he afraid of seeing me become too big? We'll just have to go on without him. As heretofore.

August 8, St. Petersburg

Right after my arrival I drove to the house of good old Mme. Korvin-Piatrovska, a charming Pole who reminds me of poor Mme. Gropler in Constantinople.

She already had had a letter from Plehwe, asking her to have me come to see him at 9:30 this morning. She described him to me as a great man, Louis XIV, Palmerston, and Gladstone rolled into one.

Others gave a different judgment on him. While she presented him as a far-sighted statesman, he was pictured by others as more short-sighted. But they all stressed his energy.

In the afternoon I met Maximov: a fine, quiet, liberal Russian. He is going to drive to Pavlovsk today with Katzenelsohn and me to see Adjutant-General Kireyev.

\* In English in the original.



August 9, St. Petersburg

Yesterday a most remarkable hour-and-a-quarter conversation with Plehwe, and in the afternoon, at Pavlovsk, one with General Kireyev, the Czar's aide-de-camp, a delightful old cavalier. But first the memorandum for Plehwe:\*

Your Excellency:

The conclusion of the conversation which you did me the honor of granting me might perhaps be stated in the following way:

The Imperial Russian Government, intending to resolve the Jewish Question in a humane manner, out of consideration for the demands of the Russian state as much as for the needs of the Jewish people, has judged it useful to give aid to the Zionist movement, whose loyal intentions are recognized.

The Imperial government's assistance would consist in the following:

First, effective intervention with H.I.M. the Sultan.

The problem is to obtain a charter to colonize Palestine with the exception of the Holy Places. The country would remain under the suzerainty of H.I.M. the Sultan. The administration would be managed by the Colonization Company to be set up with sufficient capital by the Zionists. This company would pay annually to the Imperial Ottoman Treasury a contribution to be decided upon, which would take the place of taxes.

The company would recover this contribution like its other expenses (public works, education, etc.) by the taxes it would collect from the colonists.

Second, the Imperial Russian Government would provide a financial subsidy for emigration, using for this purpose certain funds and taxes whose provenance is purely Jewish.

Third, the Imperial Russian Government would facilitate the loyal organization of Russian Zionist societies according to the Basel program.

Your Excellency will decide to what extent and in what way this would be made public. Our Congress, which will meet at

\* In French in the original.

Basel from the 10th to the 23rd of August, could be used for this purpose.

This would, at the same time, put an end to certain agitation.

I submit for Y.E.'s approval this text of a statement to be made to the Congress.

"I am authorized to state that the Imperial Russian Government intends to help the Zionist movement. The Imperial Government proposes to intervene on our behalf with H.I.M. the Sultan for obtaining a Charter for Colonization. Furthermore, the Imperial Government will place at the disposal of the emigration carried on by the Zionists sums drawn from Jewish taxes. And to demonstrate clearly the humane character of these steps, the Imperial Government proposes, at the same time, to enlarge very soon the pale of Jewish settlement for those who do not wish to emigrate."

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my profound esteem.

Dr. Th. H.

St Petersburg, July 28, 1903\*

To Kireyev:\*\*

August 10, 1903

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to report to you that today I have been received by H.E. the Minister of Finance. At the end of a rather long conversation he told me that as Minister of Finance he had no objection to our plan. Mr. von Plehwe being for and Mr. Witte not being against our project, the matter could come before the council without delay.

It is extremely urgent to obtain the agreement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. By winning its support, Y.E. could benefit our cause immensely.

\* Presumably Herzl had the memorandum ready and dated well before meeting Plehwe.

\*\* In French in the original.



What we are asking in that direction can be summed up very briefly as follows:

(There follows the 1st point [p. 1520])\*

If Y.E. wishes additional explanations, I am at all times at your disposal to come to Pavlovsk. A telegram will suffice.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my profound esteem and my gratitude.

Yours very devotedly,  
Dr. Th. H.

August 10, St. Petersburg

Only now, after taking care of the most pressing matters, have I a chance to record my meetings with the chief figures of contemporary Russia.

On the morning of the day before yesterday, with Plehwe. A few minutes' wait in the ante-chamber. A modest ante-room, well-got-up *huissiers* [ushers]. Now and then there is a glimpse of what might be a detective.

About 5 minutes after the appointed time I am asked to go in.

A man of 60, tall, a bit obese, steps forward quickly, greets me, bids me take a seat, offers me a smoke, which I decline, and begins to talk. He speaks at some length, so that I have time to familiarize myself with his face which is in full daylight. We sit in armchairs facing each other, with a small table between us. He has a sallow, serious face, grey hair, a white moustache, and remarkably youthful, energetic brown eyes.

He spoke in French, not excellent, but not bad. He began by clearing the ground:\*\*

"I have granted you this interview which you requested, doctor, in order to come to an understanding with you in regard to the Zionist movement, of which you are the leader. The relationship which will be established between the Imperial Government and

\* Herzl's note, in German.

\*\* This speech recorded in French.

Zionism—and which can become, I will not say amicable, but in the nature of an understanding—will depend on you."

I interjected: "*Si elles ne dépendront que de moi, Excellence, elles seront excellentes* [If it will depend only on me, Your Excellency, it will be excellent]."

He nodded and continued: "The Jewish Question is not a vital question for us, but still a rather important one. And we are endeavoring to settle it in the best way possible. I have granted you this interview now in order to discuss it with you prior to your Congress at Basel, as you requested. I can understand that you take a different position in the matter from that of the Russian government, and I want to begin by making our standpoint clear to you. The Russian state is bound to desire homogeneity of its population. We realize, of course, that we cannot obliterate all differences of creed or language.

"For instance, we must concede that the older Scandinavian culture has maintained itself in Finland as something that has become organic. But what we must demand of all the peoples in our Empire, and therefore also of the Jews, is that they take a patriotic view of the Russian state as an actuality. We want to assimilate them, and to this end we have two methods: higher education and economic betterment. Anyone who has fulfilled certain conditions in both these respects and whose education or prosperity, we therefore have reason to believe, has made him loyal to the existing order is given full civil rights. However, this assimilation which we desire is a very slow process."

At that point I asked him for a slip of paper on which to take notes, so I wouldn't have to interrupt him and yet be able to reply to everything. He tore a leaf from a small pad, but he ungenerously detached its printed heading before giving it to me, as though he were afraid I might misuse it. What use, Good Lord, could I make of such a scrap of paper?

He also said: "*J'espère que vous ne ferez pas d'usage désagréable de notre entretien* [I hope you will make no unwelcome use of our conversation]."

I replied: "*Je n'en ferai aucun usage, excepté celui que V.E.*



*m'ordonnera de faire* [I will make no use of it whatever, except as Y.E. may direct me to do]."

That, I believe, was the gambit in this "immortal game" of chess. For I had understood all along that he was much concerned about the Congress, evidently because of the inevitable re-opening of the Kishinev matter there. I could do him a service there by *couper court* [cutting short] the discussion.

(Before I went to the P. audience, my timid friend Katzenelsohn had plied me with all sorts of advice. During the trip we had played over the Andersen-Kieseritzky "immortal game" on our pocket chess-board. And I had told him that I would strive to play a good game. Play the "immortal game"! said friend Katzen. "Yes, but I will sacrifice neither my rooks nor my queen," I said—for he was worried that I might yield some of the ground still held by the Russian Jews.)

\* \* \*

Insert, August 10. Letter to General Kireyev who had sent me a charming letter with an introduction to Hartwig, the director of the Asian Department: \*

Your Excellency,

Accept my sincere thanks for your very good letter and for the introduction. This very evening I shall leave this introduction, along with my card, at Mr. von Hartwig's house, and I will keep you informed about everything that happens.

The unfortunate outcome of the day can perhaps be viewed in a different way. What is dead, alas, is dead for a long time. But if in France everything ends with a song, there everything ends with excuses.

When some distressing news is presented, one can easily take a different view of it. Anyway, we shall see!

It is a deep satisfaction to me to see a man like you take an interest in our idea. I have clearly seen in your eyes the soul of a champion of all good causes.

\* In French in the original.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my high esteem and my gratitude.

Yours very devotedly,  
Th. Herzl.

\* \* \*

As though he had already foreseen the interjection I might make, or because he has such a logical mind, Plehwe quickly added:

"To be sure, we can confer the benefits of a higher education upon only a limited number of Jews, because otherwise we should soon run out of posts to give the Christians. Also, I am not blind to the fact that the economic situation of the Jews in the Pale of Settlement is bad. I also admit that they live in what amounts to a ghetto; but it is a large area—13 *gouvernements* [government districts]. Lately the situation has grown even worse because the Jews have been joining the revolutionary parties. We used to be sympathetic to your Zionist movement, as long as it worked toward emigration. You don't have to justify the movement to me. *Vous prêchez à un converti* [You are preaching to a convert]. But ever since the Minsk conference we have noticed *un changement des gros bonnets* [a change of big-wigs]. There is less talk now of Palestinian Zionism than there is about culture, organization, and Jewish nationalism. This doesn't suit us. We have noticed in particular that your leaders in Russia—who are highly respected persons in their own circles—do not really obey your Vienna Committee. Actually, Ussishkin is the only man in Russia who is with you."

(I was secretly amazed at this knowledge of personalities. It proved to me how much serious study he has given the question. And sure enough, he rose, got a big, handsome volume, with brown binding and gilt lettering, bristling with book-marks, and said: This is the Ministry's report on the Zionist movement.)

I raised an objection: "Your Excellency, all the Russian leaders are on my side, even if now and then they oppose my position.



Surely the most important among them is Prof. Mandelstamm of Kiev."

And again he astonished me by saying:

"But take Kohan-Bernstein! Certainly he is decidedly against you! By the way, we know that he conducts the press campaign against us abroad."

"Your Excellency, I don't believe that. The man is not well enough known outside of Russia. He has neither connections nor prestige. And as regards the opposition of these gentlemen to me, it is a phenomenon with which Christopher Columbus became familiar. When week after week went by and still no land hove in sight, the sailors on the caravels began to grumble. *Ce que vous apercevez chez nous, c'est une révolte des matelots contre leur capitaine* [What you are witnessing among us is a revolt of the sailors against their captain].

"Help me to reach land sooner, and the revolt will end. And so will the defection to the Socialists."

"What sort of help, then, do you ask of us?"

I developed the three points which I have already noted down on p. 1520, as the outcome of the conversation.

For he readily conceded all three points to me. Regarding financial support of the emigrants, he stated: "*J'admets que sous ce rapport le gouvernement devra s'exécuter. Mais nous ne pourrions prendre les fonds que dans les contributions juives. Les riches devront payer pour les pauvres* [I admit that according to this understanding the government ought to provide it. But we can use funds only from Jewish contributions. The rich will have to pay for the poor]."

"*C'est une idée excellente* [That is an excellent idea]!" I said.

In the end we agreed that I should work up a memorandum, and outline what I intended to say at the Congress.

Then I asked him for an introduction to Witte (his enemy). This gave him pause.

"Yes," I said. "I need it in order to request him to withdraw his ordinance prohibiting the sale of shares of our Colonial Trust. This is an impediment to our propaganda." He said: "I will give

you the introduction, but it is no promise that your request will be granted."

He sat right down, wrote a page-and-a-half to Witte, and sealed the envelope before handing it to me.

I had also asked him for approval of the by-laws of our societies which we are to submit. Until the approbation was issued, I asked him to instruct the local governors to tolerate the movement. For I had learned that in some places there had been harassment on the part of subordinate officials.

To this he said: "I cannot order toleration. But do submit a draft of the by-laws to me."

(This was at an earlier point in the conversation.)

When I felt that we had nothing more to say to each other, and he had requested the memorandum from me, I rose and asked him for another audience after he had examined the document. He promised this. I prepared to leave. He pressed my hand:

"*Je suis très heureux—ne le prenez pas pour une phrase—d'avoir fait votre connaissance personnelle* [I am very happy—don't think this is just words—to have made your personal acquaintance]."

"*Et moi aussi, Excellence, je suis très heureux d'avoir pu voir M. de Plehwe dont on parle tant en Europe* [And I too, Your Excellency, am very happy to have been able to see the Mr. von Plehwe about whom Europe talks so much]."

He smiled:

"*Dont on dit tant de mal* [About whom they say so many bad things]!"

"*Dont on parle d'une façon que je me suis dit, ça doit être un bien grand homme* [Who is spoken about in a way that made me say to myself: that must be a truly great man]."

*C'était le mot de la fin.* [That was the closing remark]. He saw me out into the ante-room, where some generals were already waiting.

The next day he said to dear Mme. Korvin-Piatrovskia that he could use directors of my calibre in his departments.

I forgot:



In the course of the conversation, when I was explaining to Plehwe the need for Russian intervention with the Sultan, because Palestine was the only place that attracted us, I added that there also were difficulties about being admitted into other countries, even England and America. If emigration were directly supported with money—as discussed here in St. Petersburg in recent days and even printed in the *Novoye Vremya*—this would be tantamount to putting an export premium on the Jews and would further strengthen this resistance with which I had already become familiar in England. Surely the people would be considered *undesirables*\* for whose departure their own government paid a bonus.

Plehwe thought that England was really out of the question for a sizable emigration. But America was a possibility. It still had large territories available for settlement, and if the banker Seligmann were to approach his friend Roosevelt about the matter, something could perhaps be done.

I said that I didn't regard this as very likely. I couldn't say anything definite about it, because I hadn't had any contact with the American government on the subject as yet. However, Palestine seemed to me to be the only possibility.

On Saturday afternoon, the 8th, I drove with Maximov and Katzenelsohn to Pavlovsk, a kind of Russian Potsdam, where General Kireyev lives in the palace, as the Court-Marshal of a Grand Duchess. Kireyev, Aksakov's successor, is the head of the Slavophiles. But while I had hitherto imagined him as a wild bear, I found myself in the presence of a charming old cavalier, elegant, amiable, modern, and well-informed, who speaks excellent German, French, and English, and knows a lot of other things, too.

While I was conversing with him, it gave me pleasure to look into his fine blue eyes. What with his white cavalryman's moustache, a *charmeur* [charmer].

I won him over.

On Sunday the 9th I drove to the "Isles" to see Witte.

He received me at once, but was not amiable at all. A tall, ugly, coarse, serious person, about 60 years of age. A peculiar flattened

\* In English in the original.

nose, knock-knees, deformed feet which cause him to walk clumsily. More on his guard than Plehwe, he sat with his back to the window, so that I sat there in full daylight. He speaks a very bad French. At times he strained and moaned for a word in an almost comical fashion. But since I took no liking to him, I let him groan.

He began by asking me who I was (despite the introduction!), and when I had briefly presented myself and the cause—the latter *du point de vue gouvernemental* [from the government's point of view]—he took the floor for a lengthy speech.

"Don't say that this is the view of the government. It is only the view of certain individuals in the government. You want to lead the Jews out of the country? Are you a Hebrew? With whom am I speaking, anyway?"

"I am a Hebrew and the leader of the Zionist movement."

"And what we say remains between us?"

"*Absolument* [Absolutely]!" I said, and so emphatically that from that point on he spoke quite freely. He began with a presentation of the Jewish Question in Russia.

"*Il y a des préjugés* [There are prejudices] (not *préjugés*)," he said in his miserable French. "*Il y a des préjugés honnêtes et des préjugés malhonnêtes* [There are honest prejudices and dishonest prejudices].

"The Czar has *préjugés honnêtes* against the Jews. There certainly cannot be any doubt of the Czar's honesty, for he is above everything. The anti-Jewish *préjugés* of the Czar are mainly religious in nature. There are also *préjugés* that are materialistic in origin, caused by Jewish competition. Then there are people who are anti-Semites because it is fashionable to be. Finally, there are those who are anti-Semitic for business reasons. Especially journalists are in this class. One of the filthiest is a certain Grund (I think that was the name), who edits a paper in Moscow. It is true, he is a baptized Jew, but he has retained all the Jewish characteristics—I mean the bad ones—and reviles the Jews. A very mean fellow."

"Something like Arthur Meyer of the *Gaulois*, then?"

"Even worse. But it must be admitted that the Jews do provide reason enough for hostility. There is a characteristic arrogance



about them. Yet most of them are poor, and because they are poor they are dirty and make an offensive impression. They also engage in all sorts of nasty pursuits, like pimping and usury. So that the friends of the Jews find it hard to come to their defense. I myself"—(after the preamble, this was unexpected)—"am a friend of the Jews."

(I couldn't suppress the thought: how then do the enemies talk?)

"It is hard," he continued, "to stand up for the Jews, for then people immediately say that one has been bought. As for me, I am not worried about it. I have that kind of courage. Then, too, my reputation as a respectable person is too firmly established for anyone to hang anything on me. But faint-hearted people and those on the make let themselves be influenced by this and prefer to turn against the Jews. Lately, another weighty factor has been added: the participation of the Jews in revolutionary movements. While there are only 7 million Jews among our total population of 136 millions, their share in the membership of the revolutionary parties is about 50 per cent."

"To what circumstance do you attribute this, Your Excellency?"

"I believe it is the fault of our government. The Jews are too oppressed. I used to say to the late Emperor Alexander III: 'Your Majesty, if it is possible to drown the 6 or 7 million Jews in the Black Sea, I have absolutely no objection to it. But if it isn't possible, we must let them live.' That has continued to be my view. I am against further oppression."

"But what about the present situation? Do you think that the present situation is tenable?"

"Certainly. Russia has a resiliency of which people abroad have no idea. We can endure the greatest calamities for a very long time."

"I am not speaking of Russia, but of the Jews. Do you believe that the Jews will be able to endure this desperate state of affairs much longer?"

"What way out is there?"

I now presented the way out, answering all his familiar objections with my long-prepared arguments.

But I recognized in his objections the views of the rich anti-Zionist Stock-Exchange Jews, who had evidently instructed him in Zionism. It was all there, even that old chestnut about the ambassadorial post. He said: "Twenty years ago I spent some time at Marienbad with a Jewish deputy from Hungary. What was his name, now?"

"Wahrmann?"

"That's it. Even then people were talking about the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine, and Mr. Wahrmann said that if this came about he would want to be the Austrian ambassador at Jerusalem."

It is clear that Wahrmann must have said, "the Jewish ambassador at Pest." Mr. Witte told the story badly.

Then I took his arguments by the throat *au fur et à mesure* [just as fast] as he presented them and demolished them. More and more he admitted that I was right. He clung only to the Holy Places (like all the Jewish bankers).

No anti-Semite has ever stubbed his toe on them—only he, the "friend of the Jews."

Finally, he asked me what I wanted from the government.

"*Certains encouragements* [Certain encouragement]." I said.

"*Mais on donne aux juifs des encouragements à l'émigration. Par exemple les coups de pied* [But the Jews are being given encouragement to emigrate. Kicks, for example]."

To this stupid brutality I replied by drawing myself up, calm and frigid, and saying icily:

"*Ce n'est pas de ce genre d'encouragements que je veux parler. Ils sont connus* [That isn't the sort of encouragement I want to talk about. That sort is well known]."

And I developed the three points of my memorandum to Plehwe.

Witte ended by admitting that my solution would be a good one if it could be carried out. I asked him, by way of supporting our movement, to withdraw the ban on the shares of the Jewish Colo-



nial Trust. He promised to do so on condition that we establish a branch in Russia (which we actually want ourselves), so that our transactions could be supervised. I accepted this condition at once.

Thus this disagreeable man had actually promised me what I wanted, after all. This conversation too had lasted for an hour and a quarter. I rose from my chair. He shook hands with me several times and accompanied me as far as the stairs, which seems to be a lot for this boor, since he is in the habit of dispatching even visiting Excellencies while standing.

August 11, St. Petersburg

Idle day of waiting. Yesterday I had a four-page letter from the charming Kireyev along with an introduction to Mr. von Hartwig, the head of the Asiatic Department in the Foreign Ministry.

I sent the letter and my card in to Hartwig—and am still waiting. Supplement.

On the subject of the Holy Places Witte remarked:

"At what distance from the Holy Places do you contemplate making your settlement? I think it would cause alarm if people knew the Jews were so close by."

"What about the present situation, with Turkish soldiers guarding the Holy Sepulchre?"

"This is less intolerable than if the guards were Jews," said the "friend of the Jews." "If a few hundred thousand Jews were to go there at one swoop, with Jewish hotels, Jewish businesses—that might wound Christian sensibilities."

This is the familiar objection of Jewish bankers.

I said: "We plan to make the settlement farther to the north of the country. Far from Jerusalem. After all, in the end some place will have to be found for the Jews, since, as Your Excellency so rightly observed, they can't be drowned in the Black Sea."

Actually, during all this I rather had the impression that he trotted out this argument only because he couldn't find anything else. I believe he is inconsolable over the fact that this *échappatoire*

[loop-hole] for Plehwe has turned up. Witte is presumably less a friend of the Jews than he is bent on exploiting Plehwe's embarrassment over Kishinev. If this embarrassment increased, it could lead to Plehwe's downfall, and Witte would be the top man again.

He has already been in the government for 13 or 14 years, this friend of the Jews. Why hasn't he done a thing for the Jews?

August 11, evening

Just ran into Plehwe on the Nevsky Prospect.

My silent greeting hinted at memories.

A few detectives who were walking behind him gave me a look of loving penetration.

\* \* \*

I think it is not a good sign that nothing has come from Hartwig yet. He is also the president of the Imperial Palestine Society.

August 12, St. Petersburg

This morning, too, has brought nothing yet, either from Plehwe or from Hartwig. Last evening I paid a call on my friend, dear old Mme. Korvin-Piatrovskaya, who reminds me of my good Hechler. In my presence she wrote an eight-page letter to Plehwe. In it she pointed out, at my request, that at this particular time, after the assassination of Consul Rostkovsky, Turkey would obediently carry out any wish of Russia's.

August 12, St. Petersburg

Later in the morning came a long, satisfying letter from Plehwe, together with a personal note.

Reply:\*

\* In French in the original.



Your Excellency:

I have received the letter which you did me the honor to address to me.

I shall take the liberty of calling on you tomorrow afternoon at four o'clock.

With the expression of my high regard and sincere devotion,

Th. Herzl.

August 14, St. Petersburg.

My second conversation with Plehwe, which took place yesterday, went much more favorably than the first, by far.

I drove up at four o'clock, and after waiting a few minutes, which this time I was permitted to spend in the Cabinet conference room rather than in the ante-room, I was conducted to his office.

He received me with the warmth of a friend, and after I had thanked him for his letter, he said:

"I kept you waiting a bit for my letter; but I could not let a document concerning such an important matter out of my hands before I had submitted the subject to His Majesty the Emperor. H.M. the Emperor is the overlord of the country, the head of the government, and *le souverain autocrate* [the autocratic sovereign]. It was also important that the declaration I intended to give you should not come from a temporary official, from a minister who might no longer be one tomorrow—"

"*Espérons que non* [Let us hope not]!" I interjected.

"—but should be a declaration of the government. I can therefore tell you in confidence that I submitted my letter to the Emperor as the conclusion to my report and that he gave me his consent to transmit it to you. H.M. the Emperor also took the occasion to express himself on the attacks to which Russia has recently been subjected on account of the Jews. He was extremely hurt that anyone should have dared to assert that the Russian government had participated in arranging these excesses or had

even passively tolerated them. As head of the state H.M. is equally favorably disposed to all his subjects, and in his well-known great kindness he is particularly grieved at being thought capable of any inhumanity.

"It is easy enough for foreign governments and for public opinion abroad to adopt a magnanimous attitude and reproach us with the way we treat our Jews. But if it were a question of their letting 2-3 million poor Jews into their countries, they would sing a different tune. Such an admission is out of the question, and they leave it to us to cope with this problem.

"Now I certainly don't want to deny that the situation of the Jews in the Russian Empire is not a happy one. In fact, if I were a Jew, I too would probably be an enemy of the government.

"However, things being what they are, we have no other choice but to act the way we have acted up to now, and therefore the creation of an independent Jewish State, capable of absorbing several million Jews, would suit us best of all. But this doesn't mean that we want to lose all of our Jews. *Les fortes intelligences—et vous même êtes le meilleur exemple qu'il y en a—nous voudrions les garder. Pour les fortes intelligences il n'y a pas de différence de confession ou de nationalité* [Those of superior intelligence—and you yourself are the best example—we would like to keep. Brains know no distinction of creed or nationality].

"But we should like to get rid of those with weak minds and little property. We would like to keep anyone who is able to assimilate. We have no hostile feelings toward the Jews as such, as I also show you in my letter."

"But in the meantime, Your Excellency, it might still be a good idea if you did a little more for those Jews of yours who are still in Russia. It would greatly facilitate my work of reconciliation if, for example, you extended the right of settlement to Courland and Riga, or if within the present Pale of Settlement you permitted the Jews to acquire up to ten *dessiatines* (about 20 *Morgen*)\* for agricultural purposes."

He by no means rejected this, but said:

\* Translator's Note: About 27 acres.



"I don't dislike that suggestion about Courland and Riga; in fact, I have already given it some thought. We have absolutely no objections to admitting Jews to such places where they do not out-class the local population economically. Therefore we might be more likely to admit them to the Baltic provinces, where they would be dealing with Germans, Latvians, etc.

"The purchase of land by individuals is another matter.

"When I took over my Ministry, I had an action of that sort in mind. I wanted to permit the Jews in the Pale of Settlement to acquire 3 to 5 dessiatines of land. But when I published this intention in the newspapers, a storm of protest rose from the Russian side: I was trying to Judaize the land, etc. So I had to give up the plan. For you should know that I assumed office as a friend of the Jews. I know the Jews very well. I spent my youth among them. That was in Warsaw, where I lived from the age of five to sixteen. I lived in a big house with my parents, who were in very modest circumstances. We had a small apartment, and we children had to play in the big courtyard. There I played with Jewish children exclusively. My boyhood friends were Jewish. So you will notice a certain predisposition in me to do something for the Jews. For this reason I don't want to reject your rural settlement proposal either. But the acquisition of land must not take place on an individual basis; if you want to settle entire communities, *des bourgs juifs* [Jewish enclaves], the government probably would not object, and within these *bourgs* you could then allow individuals to have such private holdings. We'll talk about that some other time. There is a Jew here named Günzburg who sometimes comes to see me about Jewish affairs. Let him talk with me about the matter."

"Permit me, Your Excellency, to suggest someone else to you as a representative. Baron Günzburg is old and not very bright, although a very estimable man. I would prefer it if you talked with my representative, Dr. Katzenelsohn of Libau, who is modern, educated, and respected."

"Gladly. I shall receive him if he comes with a recommendation from you."

"Then the form would be that of a farm produce cooperative?"

"Yes," he said.

"But the most important thing is and remains the intervention with the Sultan." This is how I brought the conversation back to Zion.

(To be continued later.)

August 14, Petersburg

Letter to Plehwe:\*

Your Excellency:

Permit me before my departure to add a few more words to what was said yesterday.

Everything depends on the efficacy of the intervention with H.I.M. the Sultan.

There has not been such an auspicious moment for a long time; and who knows when similarly favorable circumstances will present themselves again. At the present time the Ottoman government will, outside of its usual compliance, do everything it is asked to do in order to please Russia.

I am convinced that one wish of His Imperial Majesty the Czar, expressed directly, would suffice.

As regards the humble efforts which I am beginning to make, the letter enclosed herewith is a first proof of them. I beg Y.E. to read it, have one of your men put it in a mail box tomorrow, and to *forget* that I have revealed this part of my correspondence.

I intend to work at the task of reconciliation with all my resources, even before the Congress.

I am leaving tomorrow, Saturday evening, and I plan to stop on Sunday at Vilna, between two trains, in order to make a speech there. I am told that some demonstrations hostile to me may take place there, but this does not frighten me; in fact, the very reason I am going there is to straighten out misguided people, if there are any there.

I believe that this will meet the needs of the situation, but just

\* In French in the original.



the same I would be very happy to know if there is no inconvenience. Therefore I beg Y.E. to let me have a word on this subject this very evening, if possible, for the sake of my traveling arrangements.

Pray accept, etc.

Accompanying letter (*inclus* [enclosed]):

To Lord Roth—

Dear Lord Roth—

In accordance with your request I am giving you the results of my efforts here.

I found a favorable disposition on the part of the Russian government, and in my address to the Basel Congress I shall be able to make announcements that will be important and gratifying for Jewry.

However, it would substantially contribute to the further improvement of the situation if the pro-Jewish papers stopped using such an odious tone toward Russia. We ought to try to work toward that end in the near future.

I am leaving for Basel today.

With the kindest regards,

Yours,  
Herzl.

(Continued from p. 1537.)

In my conversation with Plehwe I said most emphatically that everything depended on the energy with which the Russian government interceded in our behalf at Constantinople. After all, the Foreign Office is just another organ of the same body as the Ministry of the Interior, and the wishes of the one should, in a case like this, be taken care of by the other. But I thought, of course, that the most effective thing would be the Czar's personal intercession with the Sultan. That was why I had originally asked for an audience with the Emperor.

Plehwe listened to me with a very thoughtful look in his eyes; I could tell that he was following my line of reasoning and accepting it. Since no one here wants a war, and too much can't be asked

for the murdered consul Rostkovski, such compensation would probably be very welcome to them.

Finally, Plehwe told me that he would take up the matter with the Emperor again and press it energetically. His look and his tone left no doubt that he is really serious about it. However, he said that he could not do it at the moment, because just before receiving me he had had his farewell audience with the Czar who is starting out on a trip today.

But when I discreetly inquired about my present chances of obtaining an audience with the Czar, he said: \* "We shall see—after the Congress."

This proves again that what happens at the Congress is especially important to him.

Since I have no intention of deceiving him, that is all right with me too. I insisted only as far as intercession was concerned, for, I said, such an auspicious moment doesn't turn up every day, or year.

We also talked about Witte. I wanted to tell him about Witte's reservations; but he was already *au courant* [informed]:

"The Minister of Finance is skeptical about the realization of your projects. He doesn't believe in them."

"M. Witte," I replied, "has his information from a certain financial quarter that is none of the best. Lord Rothschild in London will aid me with the financing."

"But I believe that the Minister of Finance, too, maintains excellent relations with the Paris branch of this house."

"The Rothschilds of Paris will not be opposed, because one of them has spent many millions on colonization in Palestine."

*La conversation languissait* [The conversation flagged].

So I pulled out his letter and asked him to add my name to it—since perhaps he would not care to address me as Chairman of the A.C. He readily consented, and after the word "Monsieur" he put "Herzl."

Finally I got out the by-laws which I had asked a Russian member of the A.C. to draft for me.

\* Translator's Note: Herzl quotes this conversation in French.



He skimmed through them.

"According to this you would be having congresses in Russia all the time, and the Jews would be allowed to do what is forbidden to the Christians."

"I'll tell my people not to hold any congresses."

He pulled down the familiar brown-and-gold volume:

"You are asking me for just the opposite of what is contained in this report. I was going to recommend the suppression of the Zionist movement at the cabinet meeting in October."

"The decision is yours!" I said.

Obviously he will make this decision, too, dependent on the Congress. *La situation est nette* [The situation is clear]:

Either help, administrative and financial, as well as intervention with the Sultan,

Or the prohibition of the movement.

Thus everything depends upon our people doing nothing foolish.

I said good-bye to him, and he was very, very nice.

\* \* \*

Later I had some callers: the charming old General Kireyev, who, it now turned out, is a brother of Madame Olga de Novikoff; Lieutenant-General Zsilinky, a worthy old Pole; the student Friedland; clever Glikin; and Bruck, who is trying to frighten me about my visit to Vilna. Am I to be accorded the royal honor of an assassination there?

Telegrams arrived here yesterday from ten different cities inquiring whether it was true that I was dead.

August 15, St. Petersburg

Letter to Witte: \*

Your Excellency:

In the course of the interview which you did me the honor of granting on July 27 you told me that the Jewish Colonial Trust of

\* In French in the original.

London could be permitted to start operations only on the condition that a branch be established in Russia. In the name of the Board of Directors and of the Council, of which I am Chairman, I therefore beg to submit a request for the authorization of a branch office, in order to fulfil the above-mentioned condition.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my high esteem.

Th. H.

August 16, on the train, between Dvinsk and Vilna

My last day in St. Petersburg was somewhat spoiled for me by the Vitebsk member of the A.C., Dr. Bruck. He excitedly counseled me against going to Vilna.

He said they could give me *un mauvais parti* [a bad time] there. Vilna was the seat of the leadership of the "Bund," a secret revolutionary society, and those people were furious at me because I had 1) gone to see Plehwe, 2) spoken against them at the St. Petersburg banquet.

Incidentally, the rumor circulated in many Russian cities that I was dead. It was not clear whether they thought that I had been killed by the government or by the Socialists.

I stated that I wouldn't make myself so ridiculous as not to go to Vilna now that I had already announced it. However, in order to get rid of Dr. Bruck, I sent him on ahead to Vilna "by way of precaution," to reconnoitre the situation.

\* \* \*

The last day in St. Petersburg was full of work.

The most important thing was the brief but meaty conversation with von Hartwig (Gartwich),\* the director of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Office. In addition he is president of the Imperial Russian Palestine Society.

In the ante-chamber, which at the same time serves as a library, I studied the very remarkable collection of books of this department,

\* Translator's Note: The way Hartwig's name was spelled in Russia.



which seems absolutely top-notch to me. A big window to Asia opens up when one looks at these dictionaries of the Chinese, Japanese, Afghan, etc. languages. A good deal of travel literature, old and new, good and worthless, mostly in English.

A gentleman of medium height, corpulent, with a big Russian beard and a bald head, in light-colored summer clothes and with papers under his arm passed through the room. He gave me a searching glance as I stood there so attentively in front of the books.

It was von Hartwig, as I found out later when I was admitted.

Briefly and for the umpteenth time I expounded the matter. He claimed diplomatically not to have been informed yet. Naturally I told him about Plehwe's promise to me in the name of the Emperor that the Russian government would intercede with the Sultan in our behalf. At this he lowered his nose somewhat. He said that the extraterritorialization of the Holy Places which I was proposing eliminated one of the major difficulties.

He now informed me that von Joneu, the ambassador at Berne, since deceased, hadn't had much to do in Berne, had made a study of the Zionist movement, and sent the Foreign Ministry a bulky report on it. The cause found favor with the Foreign Ministry; but since no one pushed it, it didn't get anywhere.

He (Hartwig) himself knew about the Congresses, in which the great German philosopher— —

"Nordau!"

"... yes, Nordau, was one of the participants."

He desired a report that he could submit to the Minister. I promised him one within two weeks.

Then he was going to ask Ambassador Ssinovyev at Constantinople what could be done in the matter.

With this I took my leave, requesting his good-will, which he promised me.

\* \* \*

But General Kireyev, who was already waiting for me at the hotel, told me that we must not expect any friendly Russian intercession with the Grand Turk in the immediate future.

The Russian fleet was going to demonstrate before Constantinople on account of the murder of Consul Rostkovski. It had already sailed. And even after the satisfaction demanded on five points had been given, relations between the Russians and the Turks were not likely to be very pleasant for some time to come.

August 17, on the train, between Thorn and Posen

Yesterday, the day of Vilna, will live in my memory forever. Not a phrase from an after-dinner speech.

My very arrival at noon in this Russo-Polish city was marked by ovations. I don't like this sort of thing.

In such receptions there is play-acting on the one side and foolish *emballement* [rapture] on the other.

But the situation became more real, because more dangerous, when the police, who favored me with the greatest attention from the outset, forbade all gatherings, even my visit to the synagogue.

But later I did drive through tumultuous Jewish streets to the offices of the Jewish Community, where the officials and deputations awaited me in packed throngs. There was a note in their greeting that moved me so deeply that only the thought of the newspaper reports enabled me to restrain my tears.

In the numerous addresses I was enormously overpraised, but the unhappiness of these sorely oppressed people was genuine.

Afterwards all kinds of deputations, laden with gifts, called on me at the hotel, in front of which crowds kept re-gathering as fast as the police dispersed them.

The police also sent me a message that I should not drive about in the city.

Towards evening we drove to Verki, an hour's distance from the city, where Jews are ordinarily not allowed to reside. There our friend Ben Jacob had *per nefas* [illegally] rented a little summer house, and, considering the transportation situation in this Russian provincial town, it was far away.

To this house he had invited about 50 guests. Ghetto, with good



ghetto-talk. But the dinner that went with it was sumptuous. They wanted to show me every kindness they could. And the host, among the many toasts of the others, made a fine, stately speech of welcome, one of real old-Jewish nobility. He said: "All of us here are happy today. But I am the happiest, because I have this guest under my roof."

Still, even he was surpassed by the uninvited guests who suddenly appeared out of the night in front of the curtained-off verandah: poor youths and girls from Vilna who had come all the way out here (about a two hours' walk) to see me at table.

There they stood, outside, watching us eat and listening to us talk. And they provided the dinner music by singing Hebrew songs. Ben Jacob, a truly noble host, had the kindness to feed these unbidden guests, too.

And one of the young workingmen, in a blue smock, who had attracted my attention because of the hard, determined expression on his face, so that I took him to be one of those revolutionary "Bundists," surprised me by proposing a toast to the day when "*Ha-melekh Herzl* [King Herzl]" would reign. An absurdity, yet it produced a striking effect in the dark Russian night.

We drove back. And at one in the morning, from the hotel to the station. The town was awake, awaiting my departure. The people stood and walked in the streets through which we had to pass, crying *Hedad* [Hail]! as soon as they recognized me. The same from the balconies. But near the railroad station, where the crowds got denser, unfortunately there were clashes with the brutal police who had instructions to keep the station clear. It was a regular Russian police manoeuvre which I saw with horror as my carriage rolled toward the station with increasing speed. Cries of *Hedad*, brutal shouts of the policemen as they hurled themselves at intervals at the running crowd, and my driver lashing his horses.

At the station entrance, which was roped off, stood three police officers. The eldest, a white-bearded man, greeted me with submissive politeness.

A small group of people, about 50-60 of my friends, had nevertheless managed to smuggle themselves into the station. I was

standing there, quietly talking with them, when a police captain, followed by a sergeant, came through the restaurant with a great clanking of spurs. He occupied an observation post at a table behind us. When presently I took off my hat to bid my friends good-bye, he respectfully joined in the greeting.

Was this to be attributed to an order from St. Petersburg to protect me, or to the police officers' secret fear of the crowd?

Early in the morning at Eydtkuhnen I was met by a group of Zionists from the Russian frontier town.

One more speech, and a bouquet.

That was Russia.

August 19, Alt-Aussee

Letter to Bacher:

Dear Friend:

I have come here from Russia to join my family for one day, and now I am going to Basel for the Congress.

Although we have taken separate ways on the Jewish Question for years, I still feel I ought to tell you that something will happen in Basel that the *N. Fr. Pr.* can no longer ignore.

I have brought along from Russia a document of the greatest world-wide political significance which I shall in some fashion bring to the attention of the Congress.

Get ready to publish it, for it will be impossible not to do so.

The movement and I don't need the publication in the *N. Fr. Pr.*, but the *N. Fr. Pr.* needs it. Unfortunately I can't give you the document in advance, much as I would like to do it for friendship's sake.

I can transmit it only to the Congress. English and especially American papers would be extremely grateful for it.

With the kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Herzl.



I suggest that you commission the following telegram from *London* or *Berlin*: Dr. Herzl spent a week at St. Petersburg, negotiating with the government, particularly Ministers von Plehwe and Witte, on behalf of the Jews. The results of these conversations are likely to be announced at the Zionist Congress, which convenes at Basel on August 23rd.

August 19, on the train, approaching Innsbruck

On the train between Bischofshofen and Lend-Gastein I had an unexpected meeting with Prince Philipp Eulenburg.

He was on his way to Gastein. A quick major conversation.

*En deux temps trois mouvements* [In two shakes of a lamb's tail] I had described to him the present state of affairs.

I immediately realized the advantage of regaining Germany.

I will gladly let Wilhelm II have the glory of placing himself at the head, after I eliminate, *une à une* [one by one], the diplomatic difficulties which were in the way the time before.

Eulenburg asked me whether he should write Bülow what I had told him.

"Bülow," I said, "is an old opponent of our cause. He will be against it now too. But if you want to write someone—write the Kaiser! He understood it then."

"Can do that, too."

And this is how we left it.

He thought my accomplishments in Russia tremendous. The answer that they had denied to Roosevelt—they gave to me.

Eulenburg asked how I accounted for that.

"First, by the difficulty they are in. Second, by the fact that I am a powerless man whom they can answer to without losing face."

He nodded.

Before he got off, he asked me to introduce him to my mother, and told her how much he admired me.

So I have revived German relations through a chance travel encounter.

August 22, Basel

The Sixth Congress.

The old hurly-burly.

My heart is acting up from fatigue.

If I were doing it for thanks, I would be a big fool.

Yesterday I gave my report to the "Greater A.C." I presented England and Russia. And it didn't occur to any of them for even a single moment that for these greatest of all accomplishments to date I deserved a word, or even a smile, of thanks.

Instead, Messieurs Jacobson, Belkovsky, and Tschlenow criticized me a number of times.

August 31, Constance, on Lake Constance

The difficult great Sixth Congress is over.

When, completely worn out, I had returned from the Congress building, after the final session, with my friends Zangwill, Nordau, and Cowen, and we sat in Cowen's room around a bottle of mineral water, I said to them:

"I will now tell you the speech I am going to make at the Seventh Congress—that is, if I live to see it.

"By then I shall either have obtained Palestine or realized the complete futility of any further efforts.

"In the latter case, my speech will be as follows:

"It was not possible. The ultimate goal has not been reached, and will not be reached within a foreseeable time. But a temporary result is at hand: this land in which we can settle our suffering masses on a national basis and with the right of self-government. I do not believe that for the sake of a beautiful dream or of a legitimistic banner we have a right to withhold this relief from the unfortunate.

"But I recognize that this has produced a decisive split in our movement, and this rift is centered about my own person. Although I was originally only a Jewish State man—*n'importe où* [no matter where]—, later I did lift up the flag of Zion and became



myself a *Lover of Zion*.<sup>\*</sup> Palestine is the only land where our people can come to rest. But hundreds of thousands need immediate help.

"There is only one way to solve this conflict: I must resign my leadership. I shall, if you wish, conduct the negotiations of this Congress for you, and at its conclusion you will elect two Executive Committees, one for East Africa and one for Palestine. I shall accept election to neither. But I shall never deny my counsel to those who devote themselves to the work if they request it. And my best wishes will be with those who work for the fulfilment of the beautiful dream.

'By what I have done I have not made Zionism poorer, but Jewry richer.

'Farewell!'

September 1, on the train, between Ischl and Aussee

Yesterday I visited the Grand Duke on the Isle of Mainau.

He was kind and good, as usual. We walked for two hours up and down the garden behind the castle.

When I arrived he gave me a long hand-clasp and congratulated me on such great successes.

But when I explained to him my present difficult situation, a dilemma between East Africa and Palestine, he was full of more serious commiseration.

Again he discussed the world situation with me in some detail. England was striving to isolate Germany.

France actually was tired of her Russian friendship by now.

In the Orient everything depended on whether a war between Austria and Hungary could be avoided.

I thought that there was no reason to fear one, because Emperor Franz Joseph could always placate Hungary at the expense of Austria.

As for my suggestion that Kaiser Wilhelm should again take the

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.

lead in our campaign, now that I had succeeded in winning over Russia and England, the Grand Duke gently passed over it.

However, he said he would send Baron Richthofen, the Secretary of State, my speech at the Basel Congress, as well as Plehwe's letter and the English document. Then Richthofen should put all the material in businesslike form for presentation to the Kaiser.

I asked him if Germany wouldn't object to Russia's taking the lead.

"On the contrary!" said the Grand Duke. "That would make things easier for us. We could then fall into line with Russia at once. For it is our wish to remain on good terms with Russia."

This was really the core of our long conversation. At one point the good old Duke seemed moved: when I told him that we would gladly renounce the good land in East Africa for the poor land in Palestine. I would particularly regard it as a vindication for us avaricious Jews if we gave up a rich country for the sake of a poor one.

It was half past one when a footman called him away.

"I am not inviting you to stay for lunch, so as to spare you the acquaintance of all those people."

And I must write him often.

September 1, on the train

My two mistakes at the Sixth Congress were peculiar.

At a session of the Greater A.C., prior to the East Africa vote, I told the popularity hounds Tschlenow, Bernstein-Kohan, and company that anyone who voted against it could not stay on the A.C. any longer.

As a result, they no longer cared what might happen afterwards, and they left the Congress hall, which in turn led to the big scene.

The second mistake was to give the floor to Montefiore instead of to an interesting speaker who would have held them in the hall. Thus the people who fled from good Sir Francis gave the impres-



sion that they were joining the self-exiled opposition, which was actually not the case.

But after the incident Sir Francis very decently allowed me to send him back to the firing-line, just as in general he is incomparably more decent than those petty Russian *politicians*\* on the A.C. who, at the committee meeting, were first in favor of immediately accepting the East Africa proposal and who later marched dramatically out of the hall as though their deepest feelings had been outraged.

\* \* \*

At the A.C. meeting they voted against making the Plehwe letter public, a measure which I nevertheless forced through.

\* \* \*

I was not able to put through my proposal that the expenses for the expedition might be taken from our Bank.

The idiots failed to understand that the value of its shares will increase many times over if the Bank gets such a huge concession into its hands.

And that this would give us, at one stroke, our entire share capital plus large agio reserves.

These are the sort of people I have to work with.

September 5, Alt-Aussee

To Plehwe:\*\*

Your Excellency:

In accordance with the permission you kindly granted me to return to the Zionist Question after the Congress at Basel, I have the honor to submit to Y.E. the following account.

The direction of the Congress was more laborious than ever, minds being unusually wrought up as the result of painful occur-

\* In English in the original.

\*\* In French in the original.

rences. Nevertheless I succeeded in keeping order and restoring peace. It is true that without the letter Y.E. was good enough to send me on August 12th I could not have accomplished this. But by making your letter public I managed to cut short all discussion.

The most difficult moment came when I had to lay before the Congress the British government's offer concerning a territory in Africa for our colonization. As I had the honor of telling Y.E., I had sought the aid of the Brit. govt. for obtaining Egyptian Palestine (El-Arish).

This request having been refused by the Egypt. govt., the Brit. govt. was kind enough to offer us a territory in East Africa. This proposal was contained in a letter from Sir Clement Hill, dated August 14 and sent to Basel. At the time I received this communication I did not know what I have since learned, that the territory is insufficient for our needs. Indeed, Sir Harry Johnston, its former governor and one of the best experts on the country in question, has just stated, in the *Times*, that only twenty percent of the area covered by the offer could be utilized for our colonization and that other considerable difficulties forced him to declare himself resolutely opposed to the project—which could have provided, at most, for the settlement of only some thousands of families.

Even though I was ignorant of these facts at the opening of the Congress, I was sufficiently acquainted with the Zionist movement to know in advance how the English proposal would be received. They were unanimous in their gratitude, they were moved to tears—but East Africa is not Palestine.

After a rather hot fight I was able to put only the preliminary question to a vote: that is, to send an exploratory commission—the final decision being left to another Congress in a year or two.

I had the greatest difficulty in bringing about this modest result, for there was a solid opposition even to the courtesy of taking the English proposal under consideration. This opposition was composed almost exclusively of Russian Zionists. And at a private caucus of the Russian Zionists they even started accusing me of treason!



I report the facts in all frankness, with no attempt at concealment.

There were 295 votes at the Congress in favor and 177 votes against. The minority was almost entirely Russian. The few Russians who voted for acceptance did so largely out of a personal attachment to me and because they were convinced that I would never give the signal for an emigration to Africa.

The true situation, then, emerges with absolute clarity. If there are any supporters of colonization in Africa, they are found in other countries than Russia. The phenomenon is curious but unquestionable. I have had the opportunity to learn the views on this subject even of several Russian Jewish revolutionaries now living abroad. It seems to me that they are against Africa and in favor of Palestine.

The explanation of this bizarre attitude—because up to now they have been utterly indifferent to Zionism—may perhaps be the following: an emigration to Africa would never involve more than several thousand proletarians and would therefore serve no political purpose; whereas, if a settlement of the Jewish people took place in Palestine, the radical elements would be forced to take part in the movement in order not to be too late in getting into a new society which the conservative and reactionary bourgeois elements would not have failed to rush into.

This Congress therefore has illuminated the truth of what I had the honor of explaining to you at St. Petersburg. A permanent emigration can be directed only to Palestine.

Great hopes now hang on the government's promise made in Y.E.'s letter of August 12th. The frustration of these hopes would upset the whole situation. I would no longer be trusted; and the revolutionary parties would gain everything that Zionism, represented by my friends and me, lost.

The only wholesome solution, therefore, depends upon the efficacy of the promised intervention with the Ottoman government. Y.E. was good enough to inform me in the course of our last conversation that the letter of August 12th was addressed to

me with the consent and upon the command of H.M. the Emperor. A personal and direct intervention by H.I.M. with the Sultan would probably have a decisive effect, all the more so because we are willing to offer financial benefits to the Ottoman Treasury.

I envisage this intervention in the following manner. If H.M. the Emperor of Russia deigned to give me a letter recommending our Zionist project, I would deliver it to H.M. the Sultan, who previously received me in audience in 1901.

If, at the same time, His Excellency the Ambassador of Russia at Constantinople received instructions to help me in my undertaking, I would go to Constantinople with great hopes for the outcome of the negotiations.

French diplomacy, so cordially devoted to the interests of Russia, would naturally be favorably disposed to our project. I believe that H.E. Count Lamsdorff could easily obtain this cooperation if he so desired.

As far as Germany is concerned, I believe there will be no difficulties from that direction. I have just had the honor of seeing the Grand Duke of Baden at the Mainau castle, and H.R.H. gave me to understand that the German government, while not taking the initiative in the matter, would gladly support the Russian proposal to grant Palestine to the Jews.

Finally, it is not too daring to say that the English cabinet, which has just given us such magnanimous proof of its sentiments toward our unhappy people, would likewise help us in our efforts toward settling in Palestine.

Thus it depends only on the government of H.M. the Emperor of Russia whether the whole thing will be carried out promptly. For years I have been preparing the ground at Constantinople, and in governmental circles I count many friends of our cause, which is so advantageous to the economic interests of Turkey.

If I am vigorously supported, I believe it is possible to bring about a solution in a short time.

This means that emigration could begin within the next few months.



I humbly await the decisions of the Imp. govt., and beg Y.E. to accept the expression of my high regard and devotion.

Th. Herzl.

September 10, Alt-Aussee, Styria

Letter to Hartwig (with partial use of a draft by Nordau):\*

Alt-Aussee, September 11, 1903

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to return to the subject of the interview you very kindly granted me at St. Petersburg on the subject of the Zionist cause.

The letter which H.E. M. de Plehwe did me the honor of sending to me under the date of August 12, 1903, contains a very positive government statement, and I have been authorized to make public use of it.

Y.E. is without doubt familiar with the situation in those sections of the Russian Empire where Jews are permitted to live. This situation has become embarrassing for H.M. the Emperor's government.

Squeezed within limits too restricted for their number, which increases slowly but steadily, despite a birth rate rather below the average for the Empire, hindered in their economic mobility, subjected to murderous internal competition, the Russian Jews grovel in misery so profound that it can hardly become worse, the slightest lowering of the level to which they have already sunk literally meaning death from hunger and cold.

The Jew is, by nature, ultra-conservative. By temperament, as well as by the precepts of his religion, he is the most obedient observer of the law that one could wish. But would it be surprising if, in his deep discouragement, in his absolute lack of hope for improving his lot or simply for living he became receptive to radical ideas?

\* In French in the original.

And even if respect for law should always resist the evil suggestions of despair, the spectacle of almost 6 million people, whose number continues to grow steadily, having reached the depths of human misery could only do harm to the reputation of a government which claims for itself principles of morality and humanity—I cite the letter of H.E. M. de Plehwe.

This situation could be remedied by abolishing the restrictions on the Russian Jews' right of domicile. But I understand that the Imperial government does not believe itself able to employ this radical and immediately effective measure.

Then there remains only one other way, and one only: the systematic organization of Jewish emigration.

But the only country in the world that irresistibly attracts almost all Russian Jews, with the exception of a tiny minority, is Palestine. All other countries attract only the lost children of Judaism. Only the Promised Land, the land of their ancestors calls to all of them, the faithful.

Let H.M. the Emperor's government afford us its support with H.M. the Sultan so that he may throw Palestine open to Jewish immigration on a large scale and grant them, under his exalted suzerainty, administrative autonomy guaranteed under public law and extensive enough to promise them definite security and the possibility of normal national development, and the Russian Pale will be emptied of Jews in the same measure as Palestine is prepared to receive them.

There lies the salvation for the Russian Jews and the solution of a problem otherwise insoluble for the Imperial government.

And if I may be permitted to formulate the Zionist request, it may be summarized as follows: [there follows "The problem is . . ." to . . . "collect from the colonists." on p. 1520].

To sum up, I have the honor to suggest that Y.E. be kind enough to address to H.E. the Ambassador of H.M. the Emperor to H.M. the Sultan the instructions which H.E. M. de Plehwe caused me to hope for by his letter mentioned before, written, as the Minister was kind enough to tell me, with the consent and by the order of H.M. the Emperor of Russia.



Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my high esteem,

Dr. Th. H.

To H.E., Mr. N. G. de Hartwich, Director of the First Department of the Min. of For. Aff., St. Petersburg

\* \* \*

Letter to Kireyev:\*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to recall myself to your kind memory.

I have already sent you a small remembrance from Basel: the book edition of my new play which has just been performed at the Royal Theatre in Berlin. I was unable to attend the premiere of *Solon in Lydia* because I had my Zionist Congress meeting in Basel at the same time.

I much prefer literature to politics, and when in the course of my activities and peregrinations I meet someone whom I would like to please—which is rare enough—I inflict my writings on him.

Your Excellency, accept this excuse!

Today I am writing to H.E. M. de Hartwich to whom you were kind enough to introduce me. I am giving him a brief presentation of our requests and plans.

If you can *ein gutes Wort einlegen* [put in a good word], I beg you to do so.

While returning from the station after your sister's departure, you told me several things about the relation between Christianity and Judaism which have since given me food for thought. I did not have my reply quite ready, but I think our thoughts are in agreement.

I am absorbed with the misery of my brethren, but not as a chauvinist or narrow-minded fanatic.

This is perhaps proved by my plan to extraterritorialize the holy places, to make them *res sacrae extra commercium gentium* [holy places above the trafficking of the nations].

\* In French in the original.

That would be a great symbol; and very old dreams would be realized.

*La Gerusalemme liberata*.\*

I would be very happy, General, to see you again someday soon and to discuss the matters which are close to our hearts. Until then I beg Y.E. for your continued good will and to accept the expression of my high esteem and sincere devotion.

Th. Herzl.

Alt-Aussee, September 11

To Prince Philipp Eulenburg:

Your Highness:

I have wanted to write you for the past two weeks, but I have had such heart trouble all this time that any activity was impossible for me.

Now I have finally pulled myself together and have just stumbled over a pile of *press-cuttings*\*\* in which I found something terribly disagreeable. About two weeks ago the news circulated through part of the German press that at the Berlin Congress a Social Democrat yelled *Pfui* [Boo]! when I gratefully mentioned His Maj. the German Kaiser's interest in our movement, which had become known in 1898, and that I had not reprimanded the heckler for this interruption. Only ill will can interpret this as toleration, on my part, of an insult to the Kaiser, for if *par impossible* [against all possibility] I had intended such disrespect, I certainly would not have needed to speak in such a vein.

In the shout I saw nothing but a loutish criticism that was aimed at me, because I was not Socialist enough for the man concerned. This I was able to overlook.

Although, therefore, I need not fear that a misunderstanding

\* Translator's Note: A reference to Torquato Tasso's famous epic poem, *Jerusalem Delivered*.

\*\* In English in the original.



could arise from the incident itself, because of the spiteful newspaper comments, may I nevertheless request Your Highness to explain the facts to H.M. the Kaiser when there is an opportunity. Perhaps this can be done on the occasion of the report about the latest developments in Zionism which Your Highness was going to give to H.M. the Kaiser.

I have already taken the liberty to send you the daily record of proceedings from Basel. Herewith I am enclosing a brief summary of the events.

The promise of the English government to make available to us (as an autonomous colony) a fine territory in British East Africa—a promise contained in a letter from Sir Clement Hill as well as in other unpublished documents—is as generous as it is wise. With this asylum for the persecuted England will at the same time be creating what is likely to be a strong point of support for her East African interests. I confess that this policy fills me equally with gratitude and admiration.

Yet we stubborn Jews are more attached to the sand and chalk of Palestine, and therefore I would prefer von Plehwe's letter—also printed in the enclosure—if it could be put into practice immediately. Still, it is an official declaration on the part of the Russian government—it was given to me as such—and I believe Your Highness will share my opinion that it is an important declaration. Russia gives up all claims to Palestine, since it is even willing to let an independent Jewish State come into being there.

We poor people don't even ask for that much. We would be satisfied just to have Jewish autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

What support can and may we expect from Germany?

As Your Highness knows, I have always placed great hopes in German assistance. In our movement there is a German cultural element which is probably not being underestimated and has not escaped the piercing eyes of the Kaiser.

H.M. will be in Vienna with the Imperial Chancellor within a few days. Oriental affairs will undoubtedly come up for discussion. The incidents in Beirut may make it appear desirable to the Great

Powers to help order and modern civilization make a breakthrough in this area. Russia has publicly declared itself in favor of our being given Palestine. France cannot take a stand against its ally. After the East Africa offer, no objection may reasonably be expected from England. If H.M. the German Kaiser also wins over the Triple Alliance for it, we shall be all set.

A great thing would be all set, Your Highness! As a statesman and a poet you survey this cause which reaches from the distant past into the distant future, and will want to help.

With respect and gratitude

I remain Your Highness's ever obedient servant,  
Th. Herzl.

September 12, Alt-Aussee

Dear Lord Rothschild:

This is the first day I have had a chance to thank you for your congratulatory telegram which you sent me at Basel. I was all the more pleased by these words of congratulation since your first wire had contained a doubt of the possibility that we had really gained so much from the English government.

It is a great actuality whose full effect will only become apparent in the discussion about the report of the Alien Immigration Commission. Unfortunately, an attempt is being made through the short-sighted and arrogant scribbling of a few insignificant Jews in the letter section of the *Times* to throw an unfavorable light on the matter. It is obvious that this attempt will not be successful, for the British government will not let itself be impressed by such inconsequential fellows, when every one of our rallies shows what masses obey our call.

To offset these stupidities of our opponents, which are dictated only by envy, I would have liked to publish your congratulatory telegram if I had been authorized to do so, so that people might see how you feel about a matter that is not to the taste of the little



Jewish letter-writers to the *Times*. But I had better leave it to your own discretion to find a suitable form for your public announcement. Should you wish to send me a letter for publication, a few lines would suffice in which you tell me that you are in sympathy with the East Africa project.

*Il va sans dire* [It goes without saying] that I shall not publish one word of yours which you haven't given me expressly for that purpose.

I don't know yet when I shall come to London. In any case, I want to speak with the members of the government before I dispatch the expedition to investigate East Africa.

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,  
Herzl

September 12, Alt-Aussee

To the Grand Duke of Baden:

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,  
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

For some time after I had the honor to be received by Y.R.H. on the Isle of Mainau, indisposition prevented me from doing any work. Only now have I become acquainted with a bad notice that circulated through some of the German papers about two weeks ago.

It says that at the Basel Congress I let a shout of *Pfui* [Boo]! go unreprimanded; it was uttered by a Social Democrat when I gratefully mentioned H.M. the German Kaiser's interest in our movement. It is quite clear that this shout was meant only for me, because I wasn't Socialistic enough for the shouter, and I was able to disregard this bit of unmannerliness with contempt.

Y.R.H. would again demonstrate to me your oft-proven kindness by giving H.M. the Kaiser a word of explanation about the true facts in the case.

I am taking the liberty of enclosing special copies of the chief documents which Y.R.H. wanted to send to Baron von Richthofen for his information.

Von Plehwe's letter, which was given to me as an official declaration of the government, reflects that Russia would even agree to an independent Jewish State in Palestine. (We would be satisfied with autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultan.)

Its ally France will not be able to contradict Russia. England's inclination to help us is evidenced by the letter from Sir Clement Hill.

H.M. the Kaiser will be in Vienna with the Imperial Chancellor within the next few days. Presumably the Oriental question, which is acute again, will be discussed. If H.M. were also to interest the Triple Alliance in the Zionist Palestine project, we would be close to our goal. The creation of a status of extraterritoriality for the Holy Places of Christianity—as *res sacrae extra commercium gentium* [holy places above the trafficking of the nations] is part of our program.

September 13, Alt-Aussee

To Koerber:

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to enclose a printed copy of a letter which the Russian Minister von Plehwe addressed to me.

This interesting document may have escaped Your Excellency's attention, because the Vienna papers have kept silent about the Basel Zionist Congress and its attendant circumstances, sometimes for comical reasons. You see, there are several papers which don't want to admit the existence of a Jewish Question. Years ago I had an opportunity of reporting to Your Excellency about the Zionist movement, and thereafter you bestowed a friendly judgment on it. In point of fact, the Jewish Question exists in Austria too in an acute and embittering enough form, even though after the anti-Semitic victories in the elections a partial surface calm has come



about for the present. Thus our movement, which aims at a permanent solution, has gradually grown in Austria—more in the provinces than in the capital, and in Vienna more in the outlying districts than in the center. To be sure, thanks to a grossly false representation in the Jewish Communities this state of affairs is not quite apparent. (I anticipate presenting to Your Excellency on some other occasion my views on the incredible, scandalous situation in these Communities and their possible remedy by a more honest election system.)

At any rate, Austria is seriously involved in the distress of the Eastern Jews, not only in the frightful, enormous Galician reservoir, but also as the most immediate place of refuge of the persecuted Russian and Rumanian Jews.

I feel that I may regard all this as granted, and I should like to base what follows on it.

It follows from von Plehwe's letter, which was given to me as an official government declaration, with the consent of and on instructions from H.M. the Emperor of Russia, to be published as I saw fit, that the Russian government has assured the Zionist movement of its support. Therefore the question is likely to be brought closer to the Austro-Hungarian government as well, through diplomatic channels.

For this reason I beg Your Excellency to be kind enough to inform H. Exc. Count Goluchowski of what I thought I should herewith submit to you first.

After all, this solution of the Jewish Question is the concern of both domestic and foreign policy, and while domestically it will eliminate a latent, but constantly erupting trouble, it will in no way injure any foreign interests of the monarchy.

A settlement of Jewish masses in Palestine can only mean a stimulation and increase of the commercial relations of the monarchy which are not developed to any notable extent in that area at the present time.

The only non-material question which can be of importance to a Christian Power is that of the Holy Places. The solution of this question is supplied by the extraterritorialization of all Holy Places

of Christianity: they are to be *res sacrae extra commercium gentium* [holy places above the trafficking of the nations].

During the years in which my efforts everywhere attracted more attention than they did in Austria, I succeeded first in arousing the benevolent interest of the Imperial German government, and finally—almost simultaneously with the Russian support—in obtaining England's magnificent offer of help for the needy Jewish people.

Under these circumstances I may hope for the support of the government of my fatherland, too, in an undertaking which, proceeding from Jewish interests but not confined to them, aspires to the universally human goal of great help for great distress.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my deepest respect, I am

Your very obedient servant,  
Theodor Herzl.

September 15, Alt-Aussee

Circular letter to the I.C.A. people:

Dear Sir:

Perhaps I may assume that you have followed the deliberations of the Sixth Zionist Congress at Basel.

In any case, I am enclosing a resumé which will inform you about a few major happenings.

On our road to Palestine, which we continue to pursue steadfastly and with all our energy, we have achieved an interim result. The British government has offered us an autonomous colony in East Africa (cf. Sir Clement Hill's letter of August 14th of this year).

This truly magnanimous offer was acknowledged by the Congress unanimously and with the deepest gratitude; and it was decided by majority vote first to send out an expedition to explore the territory offered.



After a report is received, a special Congress will be called to decide on the question of settlement.

However, on the basis of the literature and of the government reports, this much is already certain: this territory is fertile and well suited for the settlement of Europeans. It may therefore be assumed that the long-sought place of refuge for the most unfortunate among our fellow Jews, who are suffering material distress and roaming about homeless, has been found—although, as I remarked in my opening address, “it is not Zion and never can be.”

On the occasion of the El-Arish project, which unfortunately came to naught, I had the pleasure of speaking with the majority of the members of your Board of Directors; and unless I am mistaken, all of you view the thought of creating such a place of refuge with favor, since it is the task of the I.C.A. to colonize Jews. You, to be sure, say “anywhere,” whereas my friends and I say “in Palestine.”

The way things are at present, and without encroaching in any way upon the political decision of our next Congress, I believe that I am acting in the spirit of the purely philanthropic cause that you serve when I ask you whether you would care to participate in raising the funds for the expedition. No matter how the political decision may turn out, this preliminary work will in no case be valueless for relief work on a large scale. The various funds of our organization must not be drawn on to defray the expenses of this expedition, since no Palestinian territory is involved.

Therefore the Actions Committee is faced with the task of raising these expenses in some other way. Our El-Arish expedition cost about £4000. Since here an area even remoter from civilization is involved, and since, utilizing the two dry seasons, two expeditions will probably have to be sent out—first a predominantly scientific one, then a predominantly practical one—the expenses are likely to be substantially higher.

Given the state of affairs described above, I do not consider it appropriate to establish a *Société d'études* [Study Commission], as is usually done when one has business ends in view. On the other hand, there is also something dubious about accepting donations

for a project which, because of its size, is bound to assume a business character later. When the time comes, we shall either refund the contributions of those donors who came forward immediately after the Congress, or donate the money to the National Fund. Therefore I envision the contribution of the I.C.A., which I budget at about £8000, as a deposit on the separate account of the East African Expedition at the Jewish Colonial Trust in London. If it is decided later to set up a Jewish East Africa Company—and the I.C.A. would also be invited to join in founding it—the Company will pay back the contributions for the expedition.

Should no such company be set up, the I.C.A. will have to regard its contribution as lost, but will presumably find sufficient compensation in the results of the expedition, because the assurances of the English government will have created a great foundation for philanthropic colonization in any case.

If the I.C.A. contributes to the costs of the expedition in the manner outlined above, it will receive a detailed accounting as well as the reports of the expedition.

I am sending an identical copy of this strictly confidential letter to all members of the Board of Directors in order to expedite the matter.

With deep respect,

Yours faithfully,  
Th. Herzl.

September 22, Alt-Aussee

Colonel Goldsmid writes that he has been invited to Balmoral by the King. I am wiring him:\*

Try to get him for our previous scheme in which you collaborated. A combination of both the former and the present scheme would be a complete success, being a satisfaction for ideal as well as material interests.

Tell him also that I shall come to England at end of October.

\* Original text.



Please don't spare telegrams; there may be a necessity of quick decisions.

I remain still Alt-Aussee Styria.

Benjamin.

September 23, Alt-Aussee

Two days ago I had a visit from H. Steiner whom I am sending to New York as *manager*.<sup>\*</sup> I have pushed through the branch office and him against all opposition, because I think he is capable. I have paved his way to a great material future and right off have given him the best-paid position we have ever had. I am curious to see how ungrateful he will be.

\* \* \*

Yesterday Kurt Toeppen, from German East Africa, came to see me. An East Prussian who in appearance and tone reminds me of Philipp Eulenburg. He seems to be capable, intelligent, unaffected, and a mercenary soldier type. He married an Arab girl and became a Mohammedan. I think he would become a Jew, too. Yet his matter-of-fact clarity made me like him. He shall be the quartermaster of the expedition, even if Aaron of Johannesburg should equip and run the expedition.

This would relieve me of the financial worries of the expedition, and I wouldn't need the I.C.A. any more.

October 19, Alt-Aussee

I am still being detained here by my wife's illness.

\* \* \*

Dr. Margulies (Florence) has seen the King of Italy, asked him to receive me (the King already knew all about the Congress from the

<sup>\*</sup> In English in the original.

newspapers), and received as an answer: "*Se verrà a Roma, lo vedrò volentieri* [If he comes to Rome, I shall be glad to see him]."

I want to induce the King of Italy first of all to declare himself in favor of Zionism, i.e., to permit me to publish our conversation, and afterwards to call a conference on the subject of Turkey.

\* \* \*

When I return to Vienna, I will try to see Goluchowski and ask him for an introduction to the Pope.

October 19, Alt-Aussee

Letter to Kireyev:<sup>\*</sup>

Your Excellency:

I am very happy to know that my book was of interest to you. Would you kindly get H.M. the Empress to read it?

I have heard nothing from M. de Hartwig, and this waiting is a burden on me. I would like to act, do something, put a stop to this immense Jewish suffering, make good and beautiful things grow out of the rejuvenated old earth, useful not only to us. But without the aid of the Russian government I can do nothing.

I shall return to Vienna soon. My address is *Haizingergasse 29, Vienna-Währing*.

Begging Your Excellency for your continued good-will and assuring you of my gratitude and high esteem, I am

Very devotedly yours,  
Th. Herzl.

\* \* \*

Letter to Leven (I.C.A.):

Dear Sir:

To my regret I can only regard your reply, dated September 25, to my circular letter to the gentlemen of the I.C.A.'s Board of Directors as a rejection of my proposal.

<sup>\*</sup> In French in the original.



In Point 2 you make your participation dependent on the project's having no political character. It has been known for years that our movement does have a political character. Therefore you make an impossible condition.

Of course, the scheme, if we finally carry it out—our next Congress will decide this—also contains a big relief project, many times greater than all previous ones combined.

I am offering you the opportunity to participate in it without imposing any condition upon you that might run counter to your established principles. You, however, wish to impose such a condition upon us—that is, you refuse.

Respectfully yours,  
Herzl.

\* \* \*

October 24, on the train to Vienna

To Plehwe:\*

Your Excellency:

In the letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me under the date of Oct. 5/18 you ask me for information about the attitude of the Russian Zionists at the last Congress at Basel.

To my knowledge—and I say this on my word as an honorable man—not one of the Russian delegates to the Congress neglected his moral and legal duties as a Russian citizen.

If any such fact had been called to my attention, I would not have hesitated to stir up immediately a general, public protest by our followers, because nothing would be more contrary to the interest of our movement, especially after the promise of the Russian government, which I was very happy to be able to announce at Basel.

Naturally, a place like the meeting-place of the Congress, in a country like Switzerland, is accessible to everyone. It is the gathering-place of very distinguished writers and the merely curious, of

\* In French in the original.

representatives and missionaries of every stripe, and, above all, it is the gathering-place of my political and personal enemies. Y.E. will not wish to hold either me or our movement responsible for the acts, discussions, even the unseemly remarks which can occur in such international and intersocietal surroundings. But that is neither here nor there. The Zionists do not allow themselves to turn from their path so long as they have hope of reaching their proposed goal.

Moreover, Y.E., with your great knowledge of affairs and of men, will know how to separate the true from the false in reports which are sometimes biased. One cannot reply to vague, anonymous accusations. If there is some specific accusation, I beg Y.E. to let me know it in complete confidence, and I have no doubt that I can answer it, so sure am I of the loyalty of true Zionists, even those who oppose me.

The fact is that everyone is now waiting with great anxiety for the outcome of the promised action. The form of support which I took the liberty of submitting for Y.E.'s approval was drawn from my observations and experiences in the East. H.I.M. the Sultan will scarcely be affected by a less weighty recommendation. The Sublime Porte is used to receiving recommendations, and even notices, that do not change the course of events in the slightest. It is only at the peremptory order of H.I.M. the Sultan, who would be invited by his powerful friend H.M. the Emperor of Russia to issue it, that the Ottoman government would devote its serious attention to the matter which offers financial benefits to the Imperial Treasury. Nevertheless, I shall not take the liberty of insisting on the form of the intervention, though the one I have proposed is the only one that would give me cause to hope for any result.

Y.E. will perhaps see fit to send for me in order to present me to H.M. the Emperor, and after that audience, which would be made known to H.I.M. the Sultan, I would go to Constantinople to negotiate.

At any rate, I am at Y.E.'s orders and I am waiting for decisions. It is not on my own account that I am impatient. The discontent and misery of our poor people grow from day to day. What a mis-



fortune it would be if in their despair they let themselves be seduced by subversive ideas.

But permanent emigration is the way to resolve all the difficulties; yet the only possible kind is that directed toward Palestine.

I beg Y.E. to accept the expression of my deep respect.

Th. Herzl.

Dated October 28, 1903

\* \* \*

Vienna, November 25

To Gen. A. Kireyev:\*

Your Excellency:

First of all, please accept my very sincere thanks for your great and enduring kindness.

Not having seen anything come, I already had some suspicion that our affairs were going badly.

It is probably hard to hunt several rabbits at once, even in Turkey. The proposed intervention now certainly has a humanitarian character that everyone ought to recognize, and then it would be a rare case when one good act can only be performed at the expense of the other.

But one might object:

1) that since you are at it, you could perfectly well solve both questions at once, killing two birds with one stone;

2) that action in favor of Zionism would permit the solution of the Jewish Question, which is one of the great domestic political worries of your country, as H.E. M. de Plehwe himself has told me.

If you can, Your Excellency, do make these considerations carry some weight, I beg of you. And in any case, maintain your good will.

Yours respectfully and faithfully,

Th. Herzl.

\* \* \*

\* In French in the original.

December 3

To Plehwe:\*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to inform you that my friend Dr. N. Katzenelsohn of Libau will in the near future request the favor of an audience with Y.E. I have asked him to go to St. Petersburg.

He deserves every confidence.

Pray accept, Your Excellency, the expression of my high regard.

Th. Herzl.

\* \* \*

To Mme. Korvin:\*

Dear Madam:

Thanks for your kind letter. I have asked my friend and confidential agent, Dr. Katzenelsohn of Libau, to go to St. Petersburg.

I do not answer for other people who might now try to meddle in our affairs. It might be useful to warn your great friend that Katzenelsohn is the only man I have commissioned to represent the Central Committee and myself.

I thought I should advise you of this, because I suppose that your great friend has time only for serious conversations.

I remain, dear madam,

Your very grateful servant,  
Th. H.

December 4, Vienna

The Russian members of the A.C., particularly Ussishkin, Jacobson, etc. are in open rebellion.

\* In French in the original.



They want to give me an ultimatum: I must drop the idea of East Africa (although, or because, at Edlach I showed Belkowsky the letter I wrote to Plehwe on September 5th).

They have first acquired all the bad characteristics of professional politicians.

I shall first of all mobilize the lower masses against these inciters to rebellion; I have sent instructions to Awinowitzky in Odessa.

In addition, I shall cut off their supply of money, etc.

December 5

Mme. Korvin writes that the Russian members of the A.C. are trying to get to Plehwe through her. Plehwe has instructed her to tell me that within the next few days the ambassador at Constantinople will intervene in our behalf.

I am wiring her: \*

Thanks for news. My friend Katzenelsohn of Libau will come to see you soon. Receive no one but him or else our friend Jasinovsky. I remain yours gratefully and devotedly,

Herzl.

December 11, Vienna

To Goluchowski:

Your Excellency:

I beg to request Your Excellency for an audience—on the subject of the Zionist movement, about which I reported to H.E. Prime Minister von Koerber, on September 12th, with the request to inform Your Excellency. A copy of the reply I received is enclosed herewith.

I should now like to report to Your Excellency on the present state of affairs, particularly on the support which may be expected

\* In French in the original.

from the Russian, German, and English governments, and on the basis of documents which must be treated as confidential and which I can present only in person.

Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my deepest respect,

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

\* \* \*

To Plehwe: \*

Your Excellency:

The letter which you did me the honor of addressing to me under the date of November 23/December 6 has arrived. I have first of all to express my deep gratitude for the action in favor of Zionism at Constantinople and also for the trust with which you write me. It is of course understood that I shall not make that letter public without authorization. But then, how will it be known that this action has been taken? For I must confess in all sincerity that I have few illusions about the actual effect of intervention in that form, being familiar with the ways and customs of Turkey's very clever diplomacy.

The Russian ambassador's intervention, well-intentioned though it may be, stands a very good chance of joining the documents of other fruitless interventions in the archives of the Sublime Porte. In my humble opinion, the only effective way to make H.I.M. the Sultan take the matter seriously would be a personal act of H.M. the Emperor of Russia, either in a letter to the Sultan or in an audience granted to me, which I would be authorized to make public. But although I mention this idea once again, I can only bow respectfully if it is brushed aside.

Nevertheless, my desire to work toward the soothing of tempers persists; that is why I suggest that Y.E. authorize me to make public the letter of November 23/December 6, suppressing the passage which obliges me to keep it secret, or else send me a letter that may be made public.

\* In French in the original.



Thereby everyone would see at least the Imp. govt.'s excellent intentions to help resolve the unfortunate Jewish Question by the great humanitarian measure of Zionism, and that would produce a certain effect on universal public opinion right at this moment.

I beg Y.E. to accept the expression of my great esteem and devotion.

Th. Herzl.

December 12, Vienna

To Izzet:\*

My dear friend, if we reach an agreement, I shall place ten thousand pounds at your disposal the day it is signed.

I am prepared to put this promise in any legal form you may choose to indicate; for example, in the name of your son or anyone at all.

\* \* \*

Letter for public display with which I am enclosing the above:\*

Your Excellency,

Permit me to ask you the news about my most respectful proposal addressed on February 16, 1903 to your August Master and to His Highness the Grand Vizier.

I thought I understood that considerations of foreign policy, particularly with regard to Russia, had prevented the Imp. Govt. from taking up the question. For this reason I have striven, with the help of friends that I have in every country, to dispel these difficulties. That has been done. These difficulties no longer exist, and you will shortly have official confirmation of this, if you have not already received it.

So I now repeat my proposal which offers in addition to the

\* In French in the original.

creation of a new source of income for the Imperial Treasury—a possibility for the basis of a loan—other benefits as well: in a word, the economic reorganization of your fine country which I am so fond of.

A territory we can find elsewhere. We have found it. You have undoubtedly read in the papers that the English government has offered me a territory of 60,000 to 90,000 square leagues\* in Africa, a rich, fertile country, excellent for our colonization. But nevertheless, I come back once more to my plan for finding the salvation of the Jewish people among the brothers of our race and our co-religionists who live under the sceptre of the Caliph, bringing to them what we have, that is to say, the spirit of enterprise, industry, economic progress.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my great devotion and high esteem,

Th. Herzl.

\* Translator's Note: Roughly 180,000 to 270,000 square miles.



## Book Eighteen

Begun in Vienna

December 12, 1903

December 14, Vienna

Your obedient servant,  
Dr. T. S. Arthur

December 15, Vienna



December 12, Vienna

Most Illustrious Grand Duke,  
Most Gracious Prince and Lord:

Dated December 14

The hint contained in Y.R.H.'s most gracious holograph letter of September 30th of this year—that a great deal is likely to depend on Russia's intervention on behalf of Zionism at Constantinople—I have since then regarded as setting the direction for my efforts, and today I permit myself to report respectfully that we have made a bit of progress. I am informed that the Russian ambassador at Constantinople within the next few days will—if it has not already happened—present to the Sublime Porte the desire of his government that agreement for a settlement in Palestine be concluded with us.

May I now turn to the often-proved graciousness of Y.R.H. with the request to come to our aid again at this important turning point in our movement? The support of the German Empire would perhaps induce the hesitating Sultan to make a decision in the matter. Herr von Marshall's intervention would be of the greatest significance now.

England's sympathies may presumably be counted upon, after her generous offer of land in East Africa.

Entrusting my endeavors once again to the kindness and wisdom of Y.R.H., I remain with deepest respect and most heart-felt gratitude

Your obedient servant,  
Dr. Theodor Herzl.

December 16, Vienna

Greenberg wants me to withdraw from the East African plan in an open letter to Francis Montefiore.

I am wiring him:\*

\* Original text.



Letter received. I shall not publish your draft. Gast's meeting is no sufficient reason. I have only to consider my situation with Mandel and Basel. I can neither accept nor withdraw. My point is that Mandel has to withdraw his offer or to give something else. Am writing instructions for Sunday. Am not frightened of such a blunder.

December 16, Vienna

Greenberg, whom I instructed to play down East Africa when he was here, appears to have already committed himself too much to the English government before they gave us something else. For the time being I am not releasing them from their word.

I won't let myself be intimidated by demonstrations, whether they come from Gaster or from Ussishkin.

\* \* \*

The situation is perhaps more favorable now than ever. If Russia really helps us in Constantinople, we may be in clover.

Two days ago I ran into General Shükri Pasha, the Turkish military attaché and son of the Minister of War, on the street. He walked along with me. *Almanaccando* [thinking out loud] I asked him to write his father that I have eliminated the international obstacles and that Russia would no longer make any trouble for us, but would in fact support us. He promised to do so.

Then, *choses et autres* [one thing and another]. We spoke about Djevdet and the ambassador whose face he had slapped. Shükri inveighed frightfully against Mahmud Nedim. I ought to get him out of Vienna. If I managed to do so, he, Shükri, would be my friend forever and willing to perform any counter-service. I promised to consider it.

\* \* \*

Margulies reports today that he has received a letter from the King of Italy through the Adjutant-General: the King will be glad

to receive me any time I come. However, Adjutant-General Brusati recommends January as the best time.

*J'aime autant ça* [I like this very much], because just now another opportunity has opened up to become head of a newspaper, which requires my presence in Vienna at Christmastime and New Year's.

December 18, Vienna

Greenberg reports:\*

Hope you do not think I was so stupid as to suggest publication without getting something from Mandel.

The question is only what he has received from Mandel (F.O.).

\* \* \*

Katzenelsohn has been summoned to St. Petersburg to see Plehwe.

Perhaps things will start rolling now.

December 25, Vienna

My letter to Nordau in Bluebook II contains the facts about the latest events, the attempt on Nordau's life, etc.

\* \* \*

Shükri Pasha called on me today and asked me for a memorandum for his father, the Minister of War.

Shükri will be my friend if I get rid of Mahmud Nedim.

I am giving him the memorandum of February 16, 1903, Bk. XIV.

The scheme may be summed up as follows.\*\*

#### *The Proposal.*

All we ask is to colonize the Sanjak of Acre, along with the crown lands. In return for a charter of colonization, granted to the Jewish

\* Original text.

\*\* In French in the original.



Colonial Trust of London for the aforesaid Sanjak of Acre, we pledge ourselves to pay an annual tribute of 100,000 Turk, pds. This annuity could be the basis for a loan which we will procure for the Imp. Govt.

The colonists will become Ottoman subjects.

In addition, we are ready to found a new bank, with registered offices at Constantinople and London, to serve the financial interests of Turkey.

Also, a covering letter to Shükri:

Your Excellency:\*

It seems to me that it is best to formulate the essence of the project in a few words. The details will follow if they wish to go into it.

I remain Your Excellency's sincerely devoted  
H.

December 26, 1903.

December 26, Vienna

To Sinoviev:\*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to introduce myself by letter until such time as I may have the honor of presenting myself in person. I am the leader of the Zionist movement which seeks a solution of the distressing Jewish Question by colonization in Palestine. At St. Petersburg I was fortunate enough to obtain the assistance of the Imp. Govt. H. E. the Minister of the Interior has, upon orders from H.M. the Emperor, set down a resumé of our conversations in a letter dated July 30/August 12, which I have been authorized to make public.

Under date of November 23/December 6, 1903, H.E. M. de

\* In French in the original.

Plehwe did me the honor of addressing the following very confidential communication to me:

"... Count Lamsdorff and I have agreed to inform the Sublime Porte, through the Russian ambassador at Constantinople, of the friendly reception which the Imp. Govt. has given the Zionists' project to resettle their co-religionists in Palestine.

"In the dispatch which the Minister of Foreign Affairs will address to this effect to the Acting Privy Councillor Sinoviev there is mention of the fact that in favorably receiving the Zionist request the Ottoman Porte attests to the bond of friendship that exists between the two Empires."

As regards us Zionists, all we ask of the govt. of H.I.M. the Sultan is a Charter of Colonization for the Sanjak of Acre.

In return for this Charter we are willing to pledge ourselves to pay to the Ottoman Treasury an annual tribute of one hundred thousand Turkish pounds.

May I now be permitted to ask Your Excellency whether you have already been good enough to approach the Sublime Porte, and with what result.

I am quite ready to go to Constantinople if it becomes necessary, and then I shall not fail to solicit Y.E.'s good will.

Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my high esteem,

Dr. Th. H.

December 27, Vienna

Telegram to Cowen and Greenberg:\*

Couldn't you arrange tonight at Meeting Cavendish Rooms someone to ask Gaster strongly, upon what grounds he pretends I went submissive hat in hand to Ica.

Force him to answer immediately, because it is a lie and I shall publish next Friday my correspondence with Ica.

Benjamin.

\* Original text.



December 27, Vienna

[To Plehwe:]\*

Your Excellency:

Permit me to thank you sincerely for having given so kind a reception to my friend, Mr. Katzenelson. He has given me a report of his conversations with Y.E., and I have certainly encountered in it all the benevolence with which you honor me.

Mr. Katzenelson writes me that Y.E. is surprised that I have not already left for Constantinople. I cannot go there without having been invited by the Sultan, because on three occasions I have gone there only upon his invitation. I would be giving the impression of wanting to obtrude myself, and that would spoil the matter right at the start. No, I must wait, and I wait without great hopes, although I am infinitely grateful for all the trouble Y.E. has taken in this direction. Only yesterday I inquired of H.E. M. Sinoviev by letter whether he has already taken any steps on our behalf, using as justification Y.E.'s very confidential communication. I took care to have this letter reach him by a confidential agent.

I must also thank Y.E. for the promised assistance in the matter of the Russian branch of our Jewish Colonial Trust.

This branch must in effect be the financial instrument of the emigration; and if we obtain the territory, the instrument of the emigration must be all ready. At the same time, the members of the board of directors of this branch will be able to serve as representatives of our movement, without which it would be necessary to work out complicated political regulations. It goes without saying that the branch's by-laws will in all points conform to Russian law and usage.

I have the honor to propose the following as representatives:

Dr. N. Katzenelson of Libau

Dr. M. Mandelstamm of Kiev

Mr. Jasinowski, attorney, of Warsaw

\* In French in the original.

Mr. L. Schalit, businessman, of Riga

Mr. Ben Jacob, businessman, of Vilna

Mr. Louis Loewy, engineer, of Kursk

Mr. Reines, rabbi, of Lidda.

The last-named represents the Orthodox element. All are honest people and deserving of absolute trust. If I nevertheless mention one of them in particular, it is because he has recently been the object of attacks in the newspapers. It is Dr. Mandelstamm, the best of men, with a heart of gold, honest, unselfish, level-headed. He is a scholar of advanced years, and we all venerate him.

Y.E. will accept or reject the proposed members at your discretion. Once they have been approved, I shall ask them to go to St. Petersburg and ask Y.E. for a group audience in order to submit the request for the authorization of the branch.

May I also be permitted to direct Y.E.'s attention to a piece of news which obviously is a fabrication, but is now making the rounds of the European press. The rumor is being circulated that there will be more massacres at Kishinev on the occasion of the Russian Christmas celebration. To me, this is an abominable falsehood; but I think it is my duty to advise you of it, now that I am acquainted with your very humanitarian views.

Begging Your Excellency to accept the expression of my high esteem and sincere gratitude,

Th. Herzl.

December 27

December 30, Vienna

To Mme. Korvin.\*

Dear Madam,

Unknown people are circulating the rumor in the European and American press that there will again be massacres at Kishinev. As far as I am concerned, this is a stupid and abominable falsehood.

\* In French in the original.



I am telling this point-blank to the English and American journalists who are coming to interview me, so that they may publish it. In acting this way and striving to soothe tempers, I believe I am paying a debt of loyalty to your great friend who is himself doing his best for the only possible solution. However, up to this moment nothing has come from Constantinople.

Have you received my book?

I hope it gives you pleasure. I kiss your kind, beneficent hand and remain

Yours gratefully and devotedly,  
Th. Herzl.

Sent off on January 1, 1904, in revised form.

December 31

To Joe:\*

My good Joe,

*don't make me meschugge [crazy], my labour is hard enough. My colleagues of the A.C. are for the publication of the East-African scheme's failure, and so is Nordau. Others are for continuation of the negotiations.*

But what good would that do? Mandel won't give up Samson. I guessed that as early as October. Kindly re-read the letter I wrote to you on October 14th. How good and wise it would have been if you *triumviri* [triumvirate] in London had acceded to my wish and followed my advice. But no, you thought that I wasn't seeing things right. Today it is clear that I did, and that my idea was the right one. When Greenberg assured me that Mandel would keep his word, I told him that I wasn't going to give it up voluntarily. But 3 weeks ago, when he was here, Greenberg reported to me that Mandel had already given up Samson. All that was left to do then was to salvage what one still could from it.

You must never forget how terribly difficult my position is. I won't yield to the threats of the Kharkov people, but even those

\* Salutation and first paragraph in English in the original.

loyal to the Congress may seriously reproach me if I suppress such important news for weeks.

I have no sufficient information from Greenberg. I literally don't know where we now stand, and yet I am pressed from all sides to make decisions.

Four days ago Greenberg was at Brown's in Birmingham and wired me: "*interview very satisfactory*."\* Nothing else. How can I make decisions on the basis of that? What Greenberg finds *very satisfactory*,\* I may perhaps not find so.

In short, the difficulties are becoming greater and greater, and then my best people (e.g., Joe) write me irritated letters into the bargain.

Naturally it would be good if I had the central office in London. But surely that could be done only if I had my livelihood there. That I should ever let myself be supported by our movement, in any way whatever, is the most ridiculous idea.

In the first place, I don't have the character required for this.

In the second place, even if I had the character, may God graciously protect and preserve me from it.

Happy new year!\*

Your loyal  
Benjamin.

January 4, 1904, Vienna

To Plehwe:\*\*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to submit to you the information that I obtained at Constantinople.

The confidential representative whom I charged with trans-

\* In English in the original.

\*\* In French in the original.



mitting my letter to H.E. M. Sinoviev, the Russian ambassador, received this reply: "They have written me about it from St. Petersburg; but up to now I have not done anything, and it will not be easy to do anything."

Under these circumstances, and despite my good will, I cannot do anything on behalf of the emigration, and the situation of the Jews will remain as sad and distressing as it has been up to now.

Moreover, the reply of H.E. M. Sinoviev proves the accuracy of the considerations which I permitted myself to submit to Your Excellency. An ordinary intervention with the Sublime Porte offers so little hope that the Ambassador was not even willing to attempt it.

Begging Y.E. to accept the expression of my high esteem and my devotion,

Th. Herzl.

January 4, Vienna

To Mme. Korvin:\*

My Dear Madam,

Bad news from Constantinople.

I sent a confidential agent to your representative down there, and the latter replied that he hadn't done anything yet; he doesn't seem inclined to attempt a serious intervention. What to do next?

I am in a very embarrassing situation, especially since I have telegraphed to America about the favorable disposition which people now have in your country to make permanent emigration easy, saying that steps have already been taken to this end. This must make me look like an impostor.

What do you think of all this?

Perhaps you could make inquiries of your great friend.

I am

Very gratefully and devotedly yours,  
Herzl.

\* In French in the original.

[Pasted in].

The solution of the Kharkov riddle:

Rosenbaum's resumé.

Various circumstances and Prof. Belkovsky's report at Kharkov have made us recognize these two main points:

- 1) That you no longer want us.
- 2) That your views on the Zionist idea differ from ours, and that you want to work for Palestine as only one of a number of possibilities.

Vienna, January 4, 1904

S. Rosenbaum.

January 20, 1904 on the train,  
approaching Florence

I was extremely busy in Vienna until the very last minute; then a 24-hour breathing spell in Venice.

Truly a blue Monday.

In the evening I couldn't be bothered to put on my dinner jacket for the 1½ Englishmen in the Grand Hotel, so I went to Bauer's Austrian Beer House.

As I entered, someone leaned forward in a corner where a party was sitting. I didn't immediately recognize him. Then a waiter came over and asked me whether I was Herzl of Vienna.

In order to be left in peace, my first impulse was to say no, but then I did admit my identity.

And so there came to my table—the painter and papal count, Lippay.

In this way something started that may have great consequences.

After five minutes Lippay said to me: "Come on to Rome and I will present you to the Pope." He obviously said this out of *van-tardise* [a desire to brag].

I didn't answer, "*J'allais vous le demander* [I was just going to ask you to do so], but, "Hm, hm, that may be something to talk about."

Over the years I have learned to control my first impulses.



Lippay remained at my table an hour and a half, unpacking more and more of his connections, *en homme ivre de ses relations* [like a drunk talking about his connections].

I was such a good listener that he kept babbling away. He wants to reconcile Rampolla with Austria, and as an unofficial agent—something between an ambassador and a courier—he is bringing 22 decorations to Rome.

He is going to confer them only on those whom the Pope approves of.

He and the Pope are friends, ever since their days in Venice.

L.'s wife is a Venetian.

He wants to present me personally to the Pope and act as our interpreter. All I have to do is to send him the following telegram on Wednesday (today):

*Conte Lippay, pittore di Sua Santità,  
Anticamera Vaticano.*

*Pregola insistentemente ottenermi udienza presso Santo Padre. Aspetto sua risposta Firenze Grand Hotel.* [Count Lippay, Painter to His Holiness, Vatican Ante-Chambers.

Urgently request you to obtain audience with Holy Father for me. Awaiting your reply Grand Hotel, Florence].

I sent the wire this morning from Bologna.

Yesterday morning I traveled with Lippay from Venice to Ferrara. On the train he told me some more state secrets; and I in turn showed him Koerber's reply to my letter of September 12th.

Lippay asked me whether he might tell the Pope that Koerber wanted me to be received.

"Under no circumstances!" I replied most emphatically.

He also told me that he was intervening on behalf of Hilsner, and against the ritual-murder charge. A question which he asked me in this connection, how I stood with the Vienna Rothschild and with Guttmann, opened up certain vistas for me.

"I don't know the Vienna Rothschild at all. To Guttmann I can introduce you any time you want."

This was agreed upon.

At Ferrara I visited my friend Ravenna. In his home we had a feast like the one that was served in the house of the Levite.

The rooms, to be sure, had an Italian coldness and bareness, but the hearts were warm.

The Zionists (the executive committee) of Ferrara, Ravenna's father from Bologna, and Donati from Modena were all on hand.

The atmosphere reminded me a little of Vilna.

January 22, Rome

When I arrived at the Hotel du Quirinal, Count Lippay was already waiting for me and confirmed the message he had wired me at Florence, that my audience with the Pope was assured.

I am going to see Secretary of State Merry del Val this forenoon, and perhaps the Pope as well before the day is over.

Lippay informed me he had already told both of them a good deal about me, and had relegated other matters to the background. It had made an especially fine impression that I had expressed myself "so favorably" about Jesus Christ. (That was at the beer-hall in Venice, when I had explained to him my artistic and philosophic attitude toward the touching figure of Jesus, whom, after all, I consider a Jew.)

He said I should tell Merry del Val that mine was the Catholic point of view.

"That, sir, I shall not!" I replied categorically. "The very ideal! After all, I am not going to the Vatican as a proselyte, but as a political spokesman for my own people."

Then he tried something else: I should ask the Pope to assume the protectorate.

Nothing doing there either!

"I don't intend to ask for anything that might embarrass him. I shall only request what is possible. Let him state in an encyclical that he has no objection to Zionism, provided the Holy Places are extraterritorialized."



The Count—whom I am getting to like more and more and who, while evidently out to make a little money, seems, as an artist, to be moved by the beauty of our cause—also told me that he was willing and able to work on my behalf at Constantinople as well.

"What will I get for that?"

"Whatever you like! Name your price!"

We agreed that we would discuss this after the audience.

January 23, Rome, 5:00 a. m., in bed

My sleep gets worse and worse.

Yesterday morning I was supposed to go with Lippay to the Vatican. He had all sorts of things to take care of, and it was 11:45 by the time we drove up to the Porta di Bronzo. The Swiss guards and the lackeys all knew him. Like a mighty man he strode up the steps and through the loggias of his fellow artist Raphael. He announced me to the Secretary of State, Merry del Val, and then took me to the ante-chambers of the Pope, where he left me to myself. As he disappeared he said: "I am on my way to the Pope."

The wait—an hour long—was nevertheless not boring. There was entertainment in the coming and going of the guards, chamberlains, prelates, and the lackeys in their red damask-silk liveries. All the colors harmonized magnificently. The world's greatest painters had collaborated on this.

In the first ante-chamber, where I was sitting, two tall grenadiers stood on a carpet, being bored. They had their backs turned to a large, beautiful bronze crucifix which rested on a console, flanked by two bronze saints at prayer. After a while the grenadiers started moving and marched up and down, up and down in step, holding their sabers at a horizontal tilt. Then they stood again, with their backs to the crucifix.

Ladies gowned in black and beribboned gentlemen in swallow tails emerged from the second ante-chamber, where I could see a red carpet. They were coming from the Pope.

There certainly was something court-like about it all.

And the crucified figure, pitiful, suffering, the image of human misery, looked down from his bronze form upon the marble walls and the court life that was unrolling here in his name, and has been unrolling for many hundreds of years now.

If he could have foreseen it all when he cried from the cross, "Eli, Eli [My God, my God]!"—would it have made dying easier or harder for him?

Then Lippay returned and took me back to the apartments—the Borgia, if I'm not mistaken—occupied by the Secretary of State.

Here one can see the beautiful, devout, naive frescoes of Pinturicchio: the Annunciation, the Adoration of the Magi, the divine child in the lowly manger—*nous en sommes loin* [we are far removed from it].

When the waiting came to an end I was taken into the next room, the council chamber of the Sacred College. A green table, surrounded by red and gold armchairs. In the background, once again the tortured God upon the Cross.

Various ambassadors were waiting for the Secretary of State.

My turn came last.

Lippay ushered me in, kissed Cardinal Merry del Val's hand, and introduced me. Then he took his leave, kissed the cardinal's hand a second and a third time, and left.

Merry del Val bade me be seated, and soon the conversation, which I conducted in French, was in full swing.

As we talked I took a good look at him.

Merry del Val is 38 years old, tall, slim, aristocratic. Fine, large, brown, serious, inquiring yet not unreligious eyes in a still young, but already grave face.

The hair at his temples showed the first streaks of grey.

I told him what I wanted: the good will of the Holy See for our cause.

He said: "I do not quite see how we can take any initiative in this matter. As long as the Jews deny the divinity of Christ, we certainly cannot make a declaration in their favor. Not that we have any ill will toward them. On the contrary, the Church has always protected them. To us they are the indispensable witnesses to the



phenomenon of God's term on earth. But they deny the divine nature of Christ. How then can we, without abandoning our own highest principles, agree to their being given possession of the Holy Land again?"

"We are asking only for the profane earth; the Holy Places are to be extraterritorialized."

"Oh, but it won't do to imagine them in an enclave of that sort."

"But is the present state of things more satisfactory to Christendom, Your Eminence? Don't you think that it would be more in keeping with the religious sentiments of all Christian denominations if a different order were established?"

"The College of Cardinals has never taken up this question. Of course, the existence of such a movement is known through the newspapers; but surely the College as such could not go into the matter in detail unless a memorandum were submitted to it."

"It would be consonant with the great policy of the Church, Your Eminence, if the Holy See declared itself in our favor—or, let us say, as not against us. I have always admired the Catholic Church, which I know through its law and its art, for its great vitality and its large perspectives. You could achieve a great moral conquest here."

"Certainly," he said, "a Jew who has himself baptized out of conviction is for me the ideal. In such a person I see the physical characteristics of descent from Christ's people united with the spiritual elements. A Jew who acknowledges the divinity of Christ—*mais c'est St. Pierre, c'est Saint Paul* [but that is St. Peter, that is St. Paul]. The history of Israel is our heritage, it is our foundation. But in order for us to come out for the Jewish people in the way you desire, they would first have to be converted."

"Think of the wanderer and his cloak, Your Eminence. The wind couldn't take it away from him, but the sun smiled it away from him. We have withstood the persecutions, we are still here today."

"Undoubtedly that is an argument which could carry some weight. Still, I see no possibility of our assuming the initiative."

"No one is asking you to, Your Eminence! The initiative will

be taken by one of the Great Powers. You are simply to give your approval. If I were only interested in the material, temporal aspects—I have gone from one Power to another and secured their consent. Proof of this is Plehwe's (last) letter to me. But I also wish to obtain the spiritual approval of the Roman Church."

He read through Plehwe's letter thoughtfully, the first page twice, as though he were memorizing it.

Then he promised *prise en considération* [consideration] of my request.

He gave me permission to come again. I begged to be allowed to place my respects at the feet of the Holy Father. He promised to ask the Pope to grant me an audience.

The conversation, to Lippay's astonishment, had lasted three-quarters of an hour (past the Cardinal's dinner time).

January 23, Rome

Today I had my audience with the King.

I killed time at the hotel until 10:30. Then I instructed my *coupé de remise* [hired carriage] to take a *giro* [leisurely drive] and land me at the Quirinal at 11:05.

On the drive through old-new Rome I got the idea of building a street in Jerusalem which shall be called Diaspora Road and display the architectural styles of all the ages and nations through which we have moved. Building regulations are to be given out for each section of this street, and sites are to be allotted (gratis?) only to people who pledge themselves to build in the style of their particular section.

At 11:05 I drew up before the King's wing of the Quirinal.

The staircase elegant, but not magnificent.

I caught my breath after the long climb in the adjutant's room. A general and a captain introduced themselves to me and were very nice. We had an animated conversation—in Italian, to the extent of my knowledge of it.

At twenty past eleven a monk wearing a cardinal's cap came out of the King's room.



Right after that I was called in. The captain went ahead of me and called out my name through the doorway—I believe he opened both wings of the door. In the audience chamber the King came up to me, wearing a general's uniform without a sword, and with a friendly smile held out his hand to me, as if to an acquaintance. He is very short, but he has broad shoulders and a very trim military bearing.

He pointed to an armchair: "*Déposez votre chapeau* [Put down your hat]!"

Then he sat down close beside me on the sofa; or rather, he hoisted himself up from behind and slid down onto it, as a child might do. In that position his feet were well above the floor.

His small stature seems to be the sorrow of this King, who in other respects gave me the impression of being no insignificant man. He is clever, highly educated, very amiable, and very modest. Once he is seated, he no longer cares about being imposing. *Il me mit à mon aise* [He put me at my ease], and in fact I most affably chatted away a whole hour with him. There isn't a trace of affectation of majesty about him. He has *son franc parler* [his frank way of speaking] and a very lively mind.

Often both of us spoke at the same time—that is how animated our (French) conversation was.

It also jumped so much from one thing to another that now, one day later, I can no longer reconstruct it.

I told him all the essential things, and he talked about all sorts of subjects—e.g.:

"In our country there is no distinction between Jews and Christians. Jews can become anything, and they do. The army, the civil service, even the diplomatic corps—everything everywhere is open to them. In Parliament there are 18 of them—although on a population basis they ought to have only one seat, perhaps half a one. Almost every cabinet has included a Jew—at present Luzzatti. There used to be Gen. Ottolenghi and Wollemborg. Not to speak of lesser posts. We are the only nation to admit Jews into the diplomatic service."

"America does too, Sire!"

"I am speaking of the European monarchies. Among us the Jews are completely Italian." (He mentioned a whole string of names.) "Nor is there a distinction drawn anywhere. Except for one city: Leghorn. Because there they are too rich. But that has nothing to do with religion and the like. *Tout ça sont des bêtises* [Those are all stupidities]." He was fond of using the words *bêtises* and *imbéciles*, pronouncing them with a strong Italian accent. "*Ce monsieur que vous venez de voir sortir est le deuxième en quatre ans qui est venu me voir* [That gentleman whom you just saw leaving is the second to call on me in four years]."

Then we got onto Palestine, I forget how.

"I know it well," he said; "I have been there several times. One occasion was just when my father was assassinated. The land is already very Jewish. It will and must get into your hands; it is only a question of time. Wait till you have half a million Jews there."

"They are not allowed to enter, Sire!"

"Bah, everything can be done with *baksheesh*."

"But I don't want that. Our project means investments and improvements, and I don't want them undertaken as long as the country isn't ours."

He laughed and quoted an Italian saying, meaning something like: "Oh yes, that would be like making improvements *in casa di altri* [in someone else's house]."

"First I would like to win over the Sultan."

"The only thing that has an effect on him," said the King, "is money. If you promise him, in return for the Jordan valley, half the profit it yields, he'll let you have it."

"Yes, but we need autonomy."

"He won't want to hear of *that*. He dislikes the word."

"I'll be satisfied with the thing, Sire! Let them call it anything they like. Now then, I will permit myself to tell you what I am requesting of your kindness."

He laughed: "All right, I'm listening."

I now showed him the letters from Plehwe and the Grand Duke, so he could see to what extent the ground had already been prepared.



When he came to the confidential passages in Plehwe's letter, he said with a smile:

"*Je ne dirai rien. Sono una tomba* [I shan't say a word. I am as silent as a grave]."

When he had finished the letter he said: "This represents a great success. I am surprised that they gave you such a document."

He asked me to translate the Grand Duke's letter for him, because he had a hard time with German. He had learned it only from his governess, and not particularly well.

I explained everything to him, and finally made my request:

"Sire, your personal intervention with the Sultan could help us a great deal. Write him a letter."

He said: "I would gladly consent; only, I cannot do what I please. To give you a promise now and later on fail to keep it—surely that would not be the way a *galantuomo* [gentleman] acts. I must first take counsel. Speak with Tittoni, too. I am seeing him tonight and shall prepare him for your visit. I am promising you only my good will, not any action."

Then we were suddenly back in Palestine. I told him about my plans for its future, about *Altneuland*. He asked me for the book, if possible not in German. For him to read it in German would be tough work. We spoke of the Jordan, of the Dead Sea Canal. He remarked, quite rightly: "But what would you do with the salt?"

I said: "That is something for the technicians' imagination."

Then we were on the subject of the Sultan again.

He said: "I know him. He is shrewd."

I: "*Mais ombrageux. Il a peur de tout* [But suspicious. He is afraid of everything]."

He: "*Ha paura di sua pelle* [He trembles for his skin]. He fears that someone will kill him. He distrusts everybody."

Then, all at once, we found ourselves talking about Sabbatai Zevi, whose story he knew well. While on this subject he also told me the following:

"One of my ancestors, my grandfather eleven or twelve times removed, one Charles Emmanuel, conspired with Zevi. He wanted to become King of Macedonia, or Cyprus, I'm not sure—some sort

of King, anyway. *Il était un peu fou, mais il avait de grandes idées* [He was a bit cracked, but he had big ideas]."

Next he spoke of messiahs (with understandable roguishness), and asked if there were still Jews who expected a Messiah.

"Naturally, Your Majesty, in the religious circles. In our own, the academically trained and enlightened circles, no such thought exists, of course."

At this point it turned out that originally he had taken me for a rabbi.

"No, no, Sire, our movement is purely nationalist." And to his amusement I also told him how in Palestine I had avoided mounting a white donkey or a white horse, so no one would embarrass me by thinking I was the Messiah. He laughed.

What else?

He related how General Ottolenghi had once vainly tried to get together a *minyan* for prayer in Naples.

He spoke of the Jews in Eritrea, in China, etc.

He told me how interested he was in our ancient race.

"But I also have Jewish callers who get visibly nervous when the word 'Jew' is used. That is the sort I don't like. Then I *really* begin to talk about Jews. What I like is someone who doesn't try to appear other than he is."

What else?

I explained to him my original Sinai scheme.

Then Uganda.

He said: "I am glad that you have given up Uganda. I like this love for Jerusalem. I even like the attempt upon Nordau's life, although it was the act of a criminal and a fool. But it does show love for an idea. I myself have seen Jews weep at the Wailing Wall. I used to think it was play-acting, until I saw it with my own eyes. Not beggars, but men like yourself were weeping."

Then he spoke of Napoleon's Sanhedrin in 1806 (I think it was 1804). An Ottolenghi—Moise, of Padua—took part in it.

"Napoleon had ideas about restoring the Jewish nation, Sire!"

"No, he only wanted to make the Jews, who were scattered all over the world, his agents."



"An idea I found in Chamberlain, too."

"It is an obvious idea," said the King.

And finally I broached my Tripoli scheme also: "*de déverser le trop plein de l'immigration juive en Tripolitaine sous les lois et institutions libérales de l'Italie* [to channel the surplus Jewish immigration into Tripolitania, under the liberal laws and institutions of Italy]."

"*Ma è ancora casa di altri* [But that again is someone else's house]," he said.

"But the partition of Turkey is bound to come, Your Majesty."

"When? True, a people such as yours can wait even a hundred years. But you and I, we shall no longer be alive."

And so we spoke about many other things that have already escaped me—that's how volatile our conversation was.

At a quarter past twelve he dismissed me. He had work to do. I must be sure to send him the book. "*Et quand vous reviendrez à Rome, faites vous voir* [And when you come to Rome again, let me see you]."

He accompanied me as far as the door and gave me his hand. At parting I repeated: "Italy can do a lot for us, for the Sultan is afraid of Italy."

He stood in thought. "Do you think so? Perhaps we are in his way.—Well, have a talk with Tittoni. I can't promise you anything definite. But whenever I meet a Turk, I will bring up your cause."

Another handshake, a smile, and I was outside.

\* \* \*

Letter to the Grand Duke at Berlin:

Rome, January 25

Y.R.H.'s continuing kind interest in the Zionist movement makes me hope that the following disclosures, too, will meet with friendly interest.

Two days ago I had the honor of being received by the King of Italy, and in a lengthy conversation which touched upon all aspects of the question, H.M. showed himself very benevolently disposed toward the cause.

Today I shall have the honor of being received by the Pope in private audience. I have already had a gratifying conversation with the Cardinal who is the Secretary of State. Tomorrow I shall also see the Italian Foreign Minister, Sen. Tittoni.

Thus, unless I am mistaken, the cause has taken a forward step in the Quirinal and the Vatican. After what I was able to report to Y.R.H. a few months ago about the attitude of England, Russia, and Austria, particularly after the declaration of the Russian government which was given me for publication (express consent to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine), the major part of those difficulties which, almost six years ago, made it impossible for Germany to go to the end in this matter seem now to have been overcome.

I would be very happy if I were permitted to give an oral presentation of the current state of affairs to H.M. the Kaiser.

Perhaps Y.R.H. will deem it appropriate to ask the Kaiser whether I may come to Berlin for this purpose. A reply will reach me in Vienna by February 1st.

With the sentiments of most heart-felt respect and deepest gratitude, I remain

Y.R.H.'s loyal servant,  
Dr. Th. Herzl.

January 26, Rome

Yesterday I was with the Pope. The route was already familiar, since I had traversed it with Lippay several times.

Past the Swiss lackeys, who looked like clerics, and clerics who looked like lackeys, the Papal officers and chamberlains.

I arrived 10 minutes ahead of time and didn't even have to wait.



I was conducted through numerous small reception rooms to the Pope.

He received me standing and held out his hand, which I did not kiss.

Lippay had told me I had to do it, but I didn't.

I believe that I incurred his displeasure by this, for everyone who visits him kneels down and at least kisses his hand.

This hand kiss had caused me a lot of worry. I was quite glad when it was finally out of the way.

He seated himself in an armchair, a throne for minor occasions. Then he invited me to sit down right next to him and smiled in friendly anticipation.

I began:

"*Ringrazio Vostra Santità per il favore di m'aver accordato quest'udienza* [I thank Your Holiness for the favor of according me this audience]."

"*È un piacere* [It is a pleasure]," he said with kindly deprecation.

I apologized for my miserable Italian, but he said:

"*No, parla molto bene, signor Commendatore* [No, Commander, you speak very well]."

For I had put on for the first time—on Lippay's advice—my Mejidiye ribbon. Consequently the Pope always addressed me as *Commendatore*.

He is a good, coarse-grained village priest, to whom Christianity has remained a living thing even in the Vatican.

I briefly placed my request before him. He, however, possibly annoyed by my refusal to kiss his hand, answered sternly and resolutely:

"*Noi non possiamo favorire questo movimento. Non potremo impedire gli Ebrei di andare a Gerusalemme—ma favorire non possiamo mai. La terra di Gerusalemme se non era sempre santa, è santificata per la vita di Jesu Christo* (he did not pronounce it *Gesu*, but *Yesu*, in the Venetian fashion). *Io come capo della chiesa non posso dirle altra cosa. Gli Ebrei non hanno riconosciuto nostro Signore, perciò non possiamo riconoscere il popolo ebreo* [We cannot give approval to this movement. We cannot prevent the

Jews from going to Jerusalem—but we could never sanction it. The soil of Jerusalem, if it was not always sacred, has been sanctified by the life of Jesus Christ. As the head of the Church I cannot tell you anything different. The Jews have not recognized our Lord, therefore we cannot recognize the Jewish people]."

Hence the conflict between Rome, represented by him, and Jerusalem, represented by me, was once again opened up.

At the outset, to be sure, I tried to be conciliatory. I recited my little piece about extraterritorialization, *res sacrae extra commercium* [holy places removed from business]. It didn't make much of an impression. *Gerusalemme*, he said, must not get into the hands of the Jews.

"And its present status, Holy Father?"

"I know, it is not pleasant to see the Turks in possession of our Holy Places. We simply have to put up with that. But to support the Jews in the acquisition of the Holy Places, that we cannot do."

I said that our point of departure had been solely the distress of the Jews and that we desired to avoid the religious issues.

"Yes, but we, and I as the head of the Church, cannot do this. There are two possibilities. Either the Jews will cling to their faith and continue to await the Messiah who, for us, has already appeared. In that case they will be denying the divinity of Jesus and we cannot help them. Or else they will go there without any religion, and then we can be even less favorable to them.

"The Jewish religion was the foundation of our own; but it was superseded by the teachings of Christ, and we cannot concede it any further validity. The Jews, who ought to have been the first to acknowledge Jesus Christ, have not done so to this day."

It was on the tip of my tongue to say, "That's what happens in every family. No one believes in his own relatives." But I said instead: "Terror and persecution may not have been the right means for enlightening the Jews."

But he rejoined, and this time he was magnificent in his simplicity:

"Our Lord came without power. *Era povero* [He was poor]. He came *in pace* [in peace]. He persecuted no one. He *was* persecuted.



He was *abbandonato* [forsaken] even by his apostles. Only later did he grow in stature. It took three centuries for the Church to evolve. The Jews therefore had time to acknowledge his divinity without any pressure. But they haven't done so to this day."

"But, Holy Father, the Jews are in terrible straits. I don't know if Your Holiness is acquainted with the full extent of this sad situation. We need a land for these persecuted people."

"Does it have to be *Gerusalemme*?"

"We are not asking for Jerusalem, but for Palestine—only the secular land."

"We cannot be in favor of it."

"Does Your Holiness know the situation of the Jews?"

"Yes, from my Mantua days. Jews live there. And I have always been on good terms with Jews. Only the other evening two Jews were here to see me. After all, there are other bonds than those of religion: courtesy and philanthropy. These we do not deny to the Jews. Indeed, we also pray for them: that their minds be enlightened. This very day the Church is celebrating the feast of an unbeliever who, on the road to Damascus, became miraculously converted to the true faith. And so, if you come to Palestine and settle your people there, we shall have churches and priests ready to baptize all of you."

Count Lippay had had himself announced. The Pope permitted him to enter. The Count kneeled, kissed his hand, then joined in the conversation by telling of our "miraculous" meeting in Bauer's Beer Hall in Venice. The miracle was that he had originally planned to spend the night in Padua. As it happened, I had expressed the wish to be allowed to kiss the Holy Father's foot.

At this the Pope made *une tête* [a long face], for I hadn't even kissed his hand. Lippay went on to say that I had expressed myself appreciatively on Jesus Christ's noble qualities. The Pope listened, now and then took a pinch of snuff, and sneezed into a big red cotton handkerchief. Actually, these peasant touches are what I like best about him and what compels my respect.

In this way Lippay wanted to account for his introducing me,

perhaps to excuse it. But the Pope said: "On the contrary, I am glad you brought me the *Signor Commendatore*."

As to the real business, he repeated what he had told me: *Non possumus* [We can't]!

Until he dismissed us Lippay spent some time kneeling before him and couldn't seem to get his fill of kissing his hand. Then I realized that the Pope liked this sort of thing. But on parting, too, all I did was to give him a warm hand-squeeze and a low bow.

Duration of the audience: about 25 minutes.

In the Raphael *stanze* [rooms], where I spent the next hour, I saw a picture of an Emperor kneeling to let a seated Pope put the crown on his head.

That's the way Rome wants it.

\* \* \*

#### Supplement:

Day before yesterday I called on Senator Malvano, a Jew, the actual head of the Foreign Office, although he is not the Minister.

He couldn't very well refuse to see me, since I had been received by the King. However, he had told my good Ravenna that he wanted to discuss only art and science with me, for he was an anti-Zionist.

A dirty, dusty little man, with a foul breath. He talked fast, without stopping, about everything: trade treaties, reminiscences of Victor Emmanuel II, the Unification of Italy, the Entry into Rome and into this very *consulta* [council chamber] (where we were sitting), which only a few hours before the Entry had been full of cardinals and Papal soldiery.

He acted the part of a *modesto impiegato* [humble employee]—evidently to keep me from asking him for anything—but that is just what he is. He is a clerk in the wholesale firm of Italy.

He is reputed to be very taciturn ordinarily. Fear of Zionism made him talkative.

I prepared to leave. I hadn't said a word about Zionism.

He said: "I have witnessed so many historic events. One thing I have neglected to do: to keep a diary."



"I keep one!" I said and looked at him, laughing.  
 Here he is in it, the Jew Malvano.  
 Whom a writer has thus confined, no God can ever rescue.

January 27, Rome

Dreamt of the German Kaiser last night. He and I were alone on a bark at sea.

\* \* \*

Yesterday, with Foreign Minister Tittoni.

A buttoned-up, slim, black frock coat. Above it, a short grey beard, an over-sized Roman nose, and a policeman's piercing eyes which peer out from under strangely protruding, puffy lids.

The conversation lasted only ten minutes, but it was excellent. The valiant King had already arranged for everything; his intelligence and chivalry are as great as his stature is small. He had promised me nothing definite. Tittoni, however—obviously on instructions from the King—declared himself ready to do anything he could. He intends to write to the ambassador at Constantinople to proceed jointly with the Russians. Naturally, the King's personal intervention couldn't be risked until it had been ascertained that it would be accepted.

He said I should send in a *mémoire* [memorandum] on the subject.

I promised to send one from Vienna.

Finally I asked him to procure an audience for me with Prime Minister Giolitti.

He promised.

*Courte et bonne* [Short and sweet.]

\* \* \*

Supplement to the Papal audience:

He spoke of the Temple at Jerusalem. It had been destroyed forever. Did I suppose that one ought to reconstruct it and perform the sacrificial services there in the ancient way?

He also talked about Josephus Flavius and quoted him; but I didn't quite understand that.

\* \* \*

Addendum to the King.

When I mentioned Plehwe's statement to me that the Jews could not have their restrictions removed because then they would soon have all the official posts, the King replied:

"That is a great compliment to your people. Oh yes, I too remember: when I was still a prince and went around handing out school prizes in Upper Italy, it struck me how many Jews there always were among the prize-winners. Almost always the majority."

\* \* \*

Greenberg wires that he has now received a Charter for East Africa!!

January 28, on the train, beyond Pistoia

I was unable to talk with Prime Minister Giolitti, because they were having a long cabinet meeting. Giolitti sent me his regrets through Tittoni. When I return to Rome he will be happy to see me.

Balance-sheet for Rome—good nevertheless.

\* \* \*

Little Benedikt has once again suppressed something. De Fiori telegraphed him a report about my audiences with the King and the Pope. Benedikt put the dispatch in his pocket.

It is a hard fate to continue to be dependent on such a *canaille* [scoundrel].

\* \* \*

On the afternoon of my audience with the Pope, "Conte" Lippay presented me with his bill.

He has worries. He needs money. (*Je m'en doutrais* [I could



imagine it].) A lot of money! (Oho!) A stack of thousand-lire notes! (Tell me more.) He said he had got himself in a hole with his portrait. He had already run up about 30,000 guilders expenses. He owed that much on the picture. Did I know of anyone who could advance him this amount? I advised him to go to an art-dealer. No, no, only a Rothschild or a Gutmann could handle something like that. Would I be willing to speak to Gutmann about this "loan"? Certainly, but I couldn't guarantee success.

Just my promise sufficed him for the moment; and as a matter of fact I do intend to speak with Gutmann when I get to Vienna, although there is something distasteful to me about this. I only hope that all these people are sufficiently aware of my own purity in financial matters.

This is a clever move on Lippay's part. Borrowing money from Jews against security is no disgrace. What are Jews for, anyway? The fact that the security isn't worth as much as the loan doesn't do any harm either. Why are Jews such fools?

February 4, Vienna

Yesterday I went on my errand, certainly a hard one, to Gutmann to raise money for Lippay.

I said—without mentioning Lippay—that it was a matter of thirty thousand guilders to establish a connection in Rome. When I saw the coal-dealer's frozen expression, I said that I might be able to raise one-half with the help of some of my friends, but that he couldn't share in it for less than 15,000 guilders.

He had a magnificent excuse—one can always learn something new from these people: the amount was too . . . small for him. The prospect I held out was so valuable that people would give large sums for it. When I broached the subject, he had expected me to mention a million.

Naturally, to anyone who asked for a lot he would say that it was too much.

February 4, Vienna

Letter to Tittoni\*

Your Excellency:

In the course of the audience which you did me the honor of granting me in Rome you invited me to formulate the Zionists' request. I therefore permit myself to submit the following observations to Y.E.

The Zionist movement, represented by annual congresses attended by delegates from all countries, has as its aim the creation of a legally assured homeland for the Jewish people.

As chairman of the Actions Committee I have established contact with all governments interested in this question. I have tried most of all to establish a relationship with the Ottoman govt. H.I.M. the Sultan has received me in private audience and has invited me on various occasions to return to Constantinople. I did not fail to go there, but negotiations have not made noticeable progress. Looking to international reasons as an explanation for this delay, I have striven to obtain the consent of the interested Powers. It was in Germany that the Zionist idea found its first support. Receiving me as well as a Zionist deputation in formal audience at Jerusalem in 1898, H.M. the Kaiser promised us his good will. The benevolent attitude of the German govt. has not changed since then. This is affirmed by the letter addressed to me by H.R.H. the Grand Duke of Baden on this subject on September 30th, 1903.

The English government has shown itself so favorably disposed toward the Zionist movement that it has officially offered us a large territory in the British possessions in East Africa for our colonization.

In Austria the govt. views our efforts with benevolent interest, as Prime Minister Koerber says in the letter he wrote me under date of September 28th, 1903.

But the most important support comes to us from Russia.

\* In French in the original.



In August of 1903 Minister von Plehwe wrote me a letter a printed copy of which you will find enclosed herewith. Von Plehwe added that this governmental declaration was transmitted to me on orders from H.M. the Emperor with authorization to make it public. On November 23rd/December 6, 1903, the Russian govt. informed me that the Russian ambassador at Constantinople had already received instructions to intercede with the Sublime Porte on behalf of the Zionist proposals.

The declaration by the Russian government of July 30th/August 12th goes farther than our own formula. We had not asked for an independent Jewish State in Palestine, being aware of the difficulties which such an objective would encounter. All we ask is that the Jewish people be settled in Palestine under the suzerainty of H.M. the Sultan, but under conditions of legal security. The administration of our colonies would devolve upon us. In deference to the sensibilities of all believers, the Holy Places are to be exempted and to receive the character of extraterritoriality forever.

All we ask of the Ottoman govt. is a Charter of Colonization for the Sanjak of Acre. In return for this Charter we will pledge ourselves to pay the Ottoman treasury an annual tribute of 100,000 Turkish pounds.

Our proposal therefore does not lack substantial advantages for the Ottoman govt., but if it is easy enough to enumerate them, it is hard to tell without emotion of the wretched situation in which our poor Jews in Russia, Rumania, Galicia, etc., are languishing. Emigration to America is not a remedy. Everywhere they find themselves again in the same political, social, and economic distress, even in the free countries, which, moreover, are beginning to close their ports to this immigration.

Anti-Semitism makes their lives hard everywhere.

For Italy these struggles and miseries are only a distant echo. Italy is completely untouched by the Jewish Question, and it is precisely for this reason that its government could perform a great service for humanity by lending a hand to the solution of this question which is so fraught with sorrow.

A letter from His Majesty the King of Italy to H.M. the Sultan, recommending our proposals and giving the friendly counsel that they be taken into consideration, would have a decisive effect on the re-opening of our negotiations.

The Jewish people, dispersed but erect despite all misfortunes, would vow its eternal gratitude to Italy and its chivalrous King.

Pray accept, Y.E., the expression of my high regard and devotion.

Dr. Th. Herzl.

Vienna, February 13, 1903

To H. E., Senator T. Tittoni, Min. of For. Aff., Rome.

February 9, Vienna

Greenberg telegraphs: \*

Events in house last night render collapse of government very probable even within next few days. Do please authorise me to at once accept for you Foreign Office's offer subject to approval of terms of Charter and report of commission and to say that you will arrange for commission to start forthwith.

Otherwise fear we shall lose all.

\* \* \*

I am replying: \*

You may accept Mandels (F.O.) offer subject to approval of terms of jam (Charter) and report of bettler (commission).

But I give you this authorisation only on condition that absolutely nothing will be published upon the matter before we approve jam terms. Please wire me this promise.

Benjamin.

\* Original text.



February 12, Vienna

Last night a wire from Greenberg saying that he had informed the F.O. of the acceptance on the same day, the 9th, on which he had received my wire of authorization.

Whereupon I wired back asking him to send me the postal receipt of the 10th for the A.C.

In the meeting on the 10th Dr. Kahn and Marmorek agreed with my view that the present proposal is identical with the one that had been before the Congress, even though the area is not located on the railroad.

Kremenezky and Kokesch thought it was a new proposal.

If it is the East Africa proposal—as it undoubtedly is—I was entitled and obligated to accept it, i.e., with the reservations that I made.

Nevertheless I will not let Greenberg force my hand.

\* \* \*

Count Lippay, who is now presenting his bill again and asking me to obtain the "loan" for him from the Paris Rothschild (letter to Alex, Bluebook), told me on this occasion that the story went around in diplomatic circles that I had twice received 60,000 guilders from the Sultan, from which amount, to be sure, I had deducted only my expenses and given the rest to the movement. I branded this as a wretched lie and gave him the facts about the two £200 purses which had been forced on me and which I had immediately given to the poor. Lippay seems to have his information from Section Head Suzzara.

\* \* \*

During the night I thought of a letter which I plan to send to Goluchowski. Something like this:

On . . . I took the liberty of requesting you for an audience. To my astonishment no reply came, not even a polite refusal saying that you have no time.

At first I attributed it to the Delegations, to the inauspicious time. But then . . .

Objective reasons? Surely the desire of the Jews to re-establish the Jewish Realm is no less respectable even to outsiders than the Poles' longing for the restoration of Poland.

The Zionist movement employs no illegal or immoral methods. Then, too, in Austria—apart from a few Jewish papers—neither Christians nor Jews deny that this solution—emigration of some and complete assimilation of others—would be a genuine solution. At any rate, the matter is one worth discussing.

There remains, then, the personal element.

As I have read a number of times, I am one of the best-known writers of Austria. The leading statesmen of England, Germany, Russia, and Italy have readily received me as the head of the Zionist movement. So have emperors and kings. It is bound to strike me as strange that a Minister of my fatherland should refuse to see me when I request him to.

As a gentleman Your Exc. will understand that I want particulars about this.

Have you been told anything detrimental about me? If so, what?

One of the fatuous lies about Constantinople, perhaps, that I have been bribed with money by the Sultan or by the Turkish government?

February 13, Vienna

Telegram to Greenberg: \*

I must urgently beg you not to reopen by a single word upon Mandels attitude the now sleeping discussion. It was my formal condition before accepting.

Benjamin.

February 20, Vienna

*Cav. Ugo Brusati Maggiore Generale,  
1° Aiutante di Campo Generale di S.M. il Re d'Italia, Roma.*

\* Original text.



[H.E. Major-General Ugo Brusati, 1st Adjutant General of H.M. the King of Italy, Rome].

Dear General Brusati: \*

His Majesty the King has done me the honor to accept my book *Altneuland*. Since His Majesty prefers to read English, I have sent for the translation which appeared in an American periodical, and I am taking the liberty of sending it to you for the King.

Pray accept, General, the expression of my high regard.

Dr. Theodor Herzl.

February 23, Vienna

The following wire from De Fiori:

Minister says that in absence of indispensable preliminary conditions matter cannot be taken up in form you suggested.

De Fiori.

February 24, Vienna

Yesterday I had a most curious visitor: "Ali Nuri Bey, Ex-Consul Général de Turquie," it said on his card which he first sent in to me at the *N. Fr. Pr.*

He is the husband of a "Turkish princess" who is giving lectures here on harem life.

His good German surprised me. He explained that he was a Swede who had gone to Turkey at the age of 18 as Strousberg's representative and had become a Mohammedan.

Today a man of 41, he looks quite Turkish, reminds one of the other Nuri Bey with his red beard and eyeglasses, but he is somewhat stronger, with his head set deep between his shoulders.

His proposal, which he made me in my house between 9:30 and 12:30 yesterday, comes to this: Sail into the Bosphorus with two

\* In French in the original.

cruisers, bombard Yildiz, let the Sultan flee or capture him, put in another Sultan (Murad or Reshad), but first form a provisional government—which is to give us the Charter for Palestine.

A novel or an adventure?

The two cruisers will cost £400,000, the rest £100,000.\* The whole stroke would cost half a million pounds. If it fails, we would have lost the money and the participants their lives.

All this presented quite coolly and calmly, like an offer to buy a load of wheat. He said he would make the voyage and go ashore himself.

The scheme could be carried out with a thousand men. Preferably during the *selamlık*.

The cruisers would pass through the Dardanelles at night and could bombard Yildiz by morning.

I answered:

"My point of view has always been that I could negotiate only with the existing government of the land, not with a prospective one. I will consider whether it is possible to concern myself with such a matter at all, even in an informal conversation."

My scruples, which I didn't tell him about, were these:

- 1) That I must not participate in such a plot at all, if it amounts to murder and robbery (although he said that they would shoot in the air and no one need be wounded in it);
- 2) That in case of failure the Zionist movement would be discredited for decades to come;
- 3) That it might lead to Jews being massacred in Turkey afterwards;
- 4) That the "participants" cannot enter into any legally binding obligations. If they don't keep their word, where shall I sue them?
- 5) To have him give me a list would be ill-advised. I might be held responsible for any breach of confidence that someone might commit.

I prefer not even to know whether Ali Nuri Bey is just raving or

\* Translator's Note: Since *Kreuzer* means both "cruiser" and a small Austrian coin, Herzl may have intended a pun here.



has some basis. Only if his group succeeds the present one in Yildiz could he perhaps be used as an intermediary. That way I would already have some connection with the coming power.

March 2

The scoundrel Crespi was here and said he wanted to work for me again. *Il faut faire flèche de tout bois* [One must use every means to attain an end].

I promised to write him a letter for public display. This is it:\*

Dear Sir:

As I told you when you visited me, I would be inclined to consider two schemes:

1) The renting of the Sanjak of Acre for a number of years by one of our financial syndicates;

2) Having my friends make the loan you told me about.

With kindest regards,

Herzl.

March 5, Vienna

Yesterday Ali Nuri Bey came to see me again.

Again the Bosphorus plan.

But he is at any rate a most intelligent conspirator and adventurer. A Viking in formal dress.

Very pretty, the way he intends to have the two cruisers in the Dardanelles shielded by merchantmen sailing between them and the forts. "One of those skippers will do that for 50 or 100 pounds."

Also, he is already mentally cutting telegraph lines, etc.

What he reports about the Khedive is interesting, too. He is ambitious and might like to become Sultan. The Arabian Nights! Then: There is an Arab movement which intends to make a descendant of Mohammed Caliph. The Caliphate was stolen by

\* In French in the original.

Sultan Selim. Now it ought to be restored, as a sort of papacy with Mecca as Rome!

The Khedive, he said, had originally supported this movement.

March 7, Vienna

I inquired about Ali Nuri Bey from the Swedish colonel Melander, a likable soldier, who called on me today.

Melander shrugged his shoulders and said he only knew him by hearsay. Ali Nuri's name in Sweden was Nordling.

March 12, Vienna

To Crespi (reply to his letter of the 4th inst.):\*

Dear Sir:

I sincerely regret that my letter should not have been sufficient to start your activities. I explained to you, however, that I could not give authorizations of the kind you wish.

I may soon send a representative to Constantinople to give me a report on the situation and to see whether it is really worth my while to trouble myself once more.

My confidential agent will stay there only a few days, but you will be able to get in touch with him.

With kindest regards,

Herzl.

Authorization for Kahn.\*

To Dr. L. Kahn, attorney.

Dear Sir:

In my capacity as chairman of the Council of the Jewish Colonial Trust of London I hereby authorize you to enter into negotiations

\* In French in the original.



1618 THE COMPLETE DIARIES OF THEODOR HERZL  
with the Imp. Ottoman Govt. as my representative for renting the  
administrative revenues of the Sanjak of Acre and for a loan to be  
obtained for the Imperial treasury.

With kindest regards,

Th. Herzl.

March 18, Vienna

To De Fiori:

Ask him what he intends to do after failing to take the only  
effective step I requested of him.

\* \* \*

To Kahn, Orient Express, Sofia:

Please read the letters I gave you carefully once more. Wire me  
on your arrival. I shall write you by the Austrian mail.

Benjamin.

March 18, Vienna

Reply from Tittoni, dated March 16:

*Il ne peut que s'en remettre a la haute sagesse de son Auguste  
Souverain* [He can only defer to the lofty wisdom of his august  
sovereign]!

*(Quant à la lettre au Sultan* [In reference to the letter to the  
Sultan]).

March 22, Vienna

I have sent Kahn and Levontin to Constantinople.

THE COMPLETE DIARIES OF THEODOR HERZL 1619

If they return *bredouille* [empty-handed], there will follow  
Tell's second arrow: Ali Nuri.

\* \* \*

The road to Goluchowski: \*

Dear Mr. Kozmian:

Are you in Vienna? Have you still not completely forgotten your  
humble servant? I have something to tell you.

Will you give me the great pleasure of meeting with me?

You can telephone me at my house, No. 17 147, any day until  
noon, or at the *Neue Freie Presse* between 3 and 4 o'clock in the  
afternoon.

Ever yours sincerely and devotedly,  
Th. Herzl.

March 30, Vienna

I was going to use Col. Goldsmid as a cover for the Turkish  
business.

But Goldsmid died in Paris two days ago. A loss.

April 10, Vienna

After mature deliberation—I can't discuss the matter with any-  
one—I have rejected Ali Nuri's proposal in my own mind.

Even though Kahn returned from Constantinople completely  
*bredouille*. What decided me was the consideration that if the  
undertaking failed a horrible massacre of the Jews would take  
place in Turkey.

I am now wondering whether I could not get some benefit out  
of Ali Nuri after all.

If, for example, he were to launch through the revolutionary

\* In French in the original.



papers the idea of approaching us for financial aid, this might have an effect on the Sultan.

\* \* \*

To Jacob Schiff, Frankfurt:

Dear Mr. Jacob H. Schiff:

Having heard from Mr. Th. H. Schlesinger of Frankfurt that you are in Europe, I asked him to arrange a meeting between us.

Last year, when I had the colonization of El Arish (the northern half of the Sinai Peninsula) in mind, Lord Rothschild told me that he had written you about it—or did he say he was going to write you about it? And then didn't bother to do so when the project came to naught? My memory may have let me down on this point.

In any case, I would like to speak with you on the subject of Jewish emigration. I have heard a great deal, and good things, about your efforts on behalf of our poor brethren. I will therefore make a projected trip to Paris earlier than I had intended so that I may meet with you. I plan to leave for Paris in the course of next week and shall stop at the Hotel Chatham, rue Daunou.

However, should I be unable to get away next week, I shall perhaps go to London on May 6th where, I hear, you intend to stay until May 10th. We would then have our meeting at Lord Rothschild's. I would be grateful to you for letting me know exactly how long and at what hotel you plan to stay in Paris and in London.

With a respectful greeting,

Yours faithfully,  
Th. Herzl.

April 19, Vienna

To Ali Nuri Bey:

Dear Sir:

I regret being unable to consider your proposal.

With respectful greetings,

Yours faithfully,  
Herzl.

April 29, Vienna

Dear Lord Rothschild:

I plan to come to London in June, because I have a few things to straighten out with the English government. I also hope to see you on this occasion. Since we last spoke with each other I have achieved a number of things, but unfortunately I have as yet been unable to provide any definitive relief for the monstrous misery of our masses.

There still is, alas, much reluctance on the part of those who could help us. That is why some leading figures ought to be won over.

Last year, when I was planning colonization on the Sinai Peninsula, you told me you would write to Mr. Jacob Schiff in New York and get him to take part in the financing if anything came of the matter. As you know, the Sinai scheme ran aground at that time; but when I heard recently that Mr. Schiff was in Europe, I let him know that I would like to talk with him. In any case, I wanted to enlighten him about my endeavors, which are so often misunderstood by the public, so that he might be available to us if ever a major project got to the point of implementation. He gave me a fairly willing answer, and I intended to get together with him soon in Paris or in London. But now, unfortunately, something important prevents me from going to London. Therefore I request that, if Mr. Schiff should visit you, you win him over for collaboration on the Jewish cause, in principle for the time being. He will learn the practical details from you or from me later, in due time.



I hope that you are well, dear Lord Rothschild.

With cordial regards, I remain

Sincerely and respectfully yours,  
Herzl.

April 27, Vienna

Dear Mr. Schiff:

This will acknowledge, with thanks, receipt of your kind letter dated Berlin, April 21st. You say that you are prepared "to the best of my ability" to give practical aid to our oppressed and unfortunate people. Coming from you, that is a big statement, and I am happy to have received it. Do not believe, however, that I intend to make some fatuous attempt to lure you onto all my paths. I would simply like to have your help, which I value very highly, on that stretch of the road which is common to both of us. Don't jump to the conclusion, for Heaven's sake, that I want to *shnorr* some money from you for our cause. No! All that can be accomplished with alms here is to raise a wonderful breed of *shnorrers*. What I would like to obtain from you is your participation in each individual case which you are to examine first.

I was going to submit my practical proposals to you in person. Unfortunately I now have reason to fear that I shall be unable to get away from here either this or next week. My professional duties are detaining me here.

However, since I do want to give you thorough information before you return to America, I am sending you one of my best personal representatives, Dr. Katzenelsohn of Libau, and beg you to be kind enough to receive him in London on May 2nd.

Considering the extreme modesty of this man as well as the fact that you will see him for the first time, it may not be out of place to draw your attention to his worth. He was originally a scientist—Helmholtz' assistant—and upon the death of his father took over the latter's large business establishment. His fortunate material circumstances have not made him insensitive to the

sufferings of our unfortunates, and I esteem him as one of our best men. That is why I also named him as my representative to the Russian government when Minister Plehwe asked me to give him the name of such a man.

With Dr. Katzenelsohn you can discuss everything in complete confidence, and he has been given full information by me.

My only regret now is that I shall not meet you, dear Mr. Schiff, in person. Let me hope, however, that we shall get closer to each other in a work which is as great as the moral and material distress to be alleviated is horrible.

With respectful and friendly greetings,

Very faithfully yours,  
Herzl.

April 29, Vienna

Kozmian came in yesterday and brought me a message from Goluchowski to the effect that the latter would receive me between 3 and 4 today or tomorrow.

Kozmian had told him with reference to myself:

*"Il a vu tous les souverains, même le Pape, et maintenant désire vous voir [He has seen all the sovereigns, even the Pope, and now wishes to see you]."*

Goluchowski replied that he thought he had known me in Paris and added, smiling: *"Ah, le Sionnisme [Ah, Zionism]!"*

Well, we shall see what he meant by that. *Pourvu qu'il n'y ait pas un ambassadeur chez lui, quand je viens [Provided there is no ambassador with him when I come].*

May 2, Vienna

The day before yesterday, April 30th, I had a big and possibly consequential discussion with Goluchowski. This is my first chance to record it, for immediately afterwards I had to attend a consul-



tation of my physicians who are sending me to Franzensbad for 6 weeks on account of my heart trouble.

I had been feeling tired for a long time, but kept going.

Goluchowski—half diplomatist, half financier, with grey whiskers and deep blue eyes—impressed me more favorably, particularly with respect to his intelligence, than I had expected.

He had a superficial acquaintance with our cause, and we talked about it at length.

To please him I spoke French. He speaks it as well as I do; but he occasionally uses the intonations of the Comédie Française—pronouncing, e.g., *considération* with a very broad *â*.

I can't claim credit for winning him over to Zionism, for in the course of our conversation he plainly became persuaded by his own arguments, and in the end went much further than I had dared hope.

I began by saying:

*"Tant que je n'avais rien de bien sérieux à vous apprendre, je n'ai pas voulu importuner V. Exc. [As long as I had nothing of real importance to tell you, I didn't wish to trouble Y. Exc.]"*

Then I showed him the Grand Duke's latest letter to me, as well as Plehwe's letter of December. He glanced through the first; the second he read over twice, with well-concealed astonishment.

Then—since Russia was in favor—he immediately was quite *d'accord* [in agreement] with me.

For a time the conversation was carried on only in arabesques. He voiced surprise over two things.

1) That such a powerful anti-Semitic movement was able to arise in France, with fifty or sixty thousand—a hundred thousand, at the most—Jews out of a population of 38 million.

I accounted for it by Drumont's talent and the hatred aroused by the Rothschilds.

He referred to the Dreyfus case and its explosive character, and in appreciation of what I had said about Drumont, remarked that Lueger, too, was not *le premier venu* [the first on the scene].

Moreover, he stated that he had an antipathy for anti-Semitism,

as he disliked everything exaggerated and unhealthy, although naturally he felt closer to a Christian than to a Jew.

2) He was surprised at the small number of Jews. If, for instance, the total population at the time of Christ was only 100,000, and it doubled every fifty years, there surely ought to be one billion Jews by today.

(I think this calculation is a bit fantastic.)

But I remarked gravely:

*"Nous avons subi des pertes cruelles au cours de notre histoire, surtout au moyen-âge [We have sustained grievous losses in the course of our history, especially during the Middle Ages]."*

To this he said:

*"Mais les chrétiens aussi ont été persécutés. Les premiers chrétiens par exemple [But the Christians too have been persecuted. The early Christians, for example]."*

I countered:

*"Les premiers chrétiens étaient des Juifs [The early Christians were Jews]."*

But if we couldn't get together on the philosophy of history, we were all the more *d'accord* on practical matters.

He told me about the misery of the Jews in Galicia with which he, as a Galician land-owner, is well acquainted. *"Ils crèvent de faim et de misère [They are perishing of hunger and destitution]."*

*"Mais avant de mourir,"* I said, *"ils s'en iront aux partis révolutionnaires [But before they die they will go over to the revolutionary parties]."*

*"Ils y sont déjà [They have already gone],"* he confirmed.

So he is in favor of my solution. Only, he feels that there must be no petty or half-way measures. If it were a question of only one or two hundred thousand Jews, the Great Powers could not be stirred into action. But they could if we asked Turkey for land and legal rights for 5-6 million Jews.

*"Je ne demande pas mieux [I don't ask for anything better],"* I exclaimed. *"Will Your Excellency take the lead in this move?"*

*"This is not the right moment. We are not through with Macedonia yet. The Mürzsteg reforms have not yet been carried out."*



That would have to be taken care of first. Also, we would have to have a concrete plan for carrying it out."

"How do you envision the implementation, Your Excellency?"

"Ah, we would have to give this some thought. It should be given thorough consideration."

I briefly presented my scheme:

The J.C.T. receives the concession, on the basis of which it founds the Land Company with sufficient capital.

The Land Company administers the territory in the name of the Sultan, pays him a *redevance* [tribute], and collects the taxes. The settlers become Ottoman subjects, the Holy Places are extraterritorialized.

He liked it all. Still, he would prefer it if England took the initiative. He would also like me to secure support in Hungary. When I told him that Koerber was sympathetic to the cause, his reply suggested a shrug, but all he said was: "You must secure supporters in Hungary; speak with Count Tisza."

"Count Tisza may be afraid of offending his influential Jewish magnates who provide him with his Liberal elections."

"But you'll still have to win over the Hungarian government. It is indispensable."

I then spoke briefly and satirically about the attitude of the Jewish big-wigs in Austria.

Here in Austria, I said, our cause was little known, due to the silence of the *N. Fr. Pr.* Explanation: Benedikt denies the existence of a Jewish people, whereas I affirm it. "*La preuve c'est que j'en suis* [The proof is that I am one of them]."

"*Et lui,*" asked Goluchowski, "*qu'est-ce qu'il est? Protestant* [And he? What is he? A Protestant]?"

"*Non. Il appartient a une espèce que je n'ai jamais vue: il est Autrichien. Je connais des Allemands, des Polonais, des Tchèques—je n'ai jamais vu un Autrichien* [No. He belongs to a species which I have never seen: he is an Austrian. I know Germans, Poles, Czechs—but I have never seen an Austrian]."

The Austrian Foreign Minister smiled in agreement.

And we reached an understanding that I would court Hungary

and try to induce England to take the initiative and make a proposal.

He considered the project of leading the Jews to Palestine so praiseworthy that he said, in his opinion, every government ought to support it financially!

Imagine the faces of the "patriotic" well-to-do Jews if they could have heard him say that!

It was further understood that I should call on him again after the Delegations; and when he saw me out into the ante-room, he shook my hands three times: "*Au revoir!*"

The *valetaille* [band of servants] gave me special treatment after this long audience.

May 13, Franzensbad (*broken down*)\*

To Plehwe:\*\*

Your Excellency:

I have the honor to communicate the following facts to you.

Quite recently I put my friend Dr. Katzenelson of Libau in touch with a very important American banker on Zionist business. On this occasion M. Katzenelson learned certain things which, in my humble opinion, would be rather interesting to the Imperial Government. I have advised my friend, who came here from London to give me a report about his conversation, to request an audience with Y.E. immediately. M. Katzenelson, whom Your Excellency knows, is modest and retiring, and is afraid of importuning you. If it were not for my shattered health, I would have wired Y.E. and requested an audience for myself—so much do I believe that this matter could assume importance in your hands.

If M.K. is granted an audience, he will at the same time give the reasons why I have still not been able to go to Constantinople for negotiations with the Ottoman govt.

\* In English in the original.

\*\* In French in the original.



Begging Y.E. for your continued benevolence, and with the expression of my high regard,

Th. Herzl.

\* \* \*

At the same time I am writing to the hesitant Katzenelson.

For Katzenelson had reported to me that J. H. Schiff would be prepared to negotiate a Russian loan (strange to say, at the request of Lord Lansdowne and the English government), provided that something were done for the Jews in Russia. But it is understood that this good deed would also have to bring him (Schiff) more than the standard rate of interest.

To that Katzenelson had replied: What we need has been formulated by Dr. Herzl in his conversation with Plehwe. Schiff then asked for my "points," as he wanted to place them before the King of England with whom he was going to have an audience; Katzenelson gave him the points and brought me a copy here.

May 14, Franzensbad

To Lippay:

My very dear Friend:

Unless I am mistaken, you told me that Archduke Eugen was interested in our cause and would be willing to see me. I have just learned that he is coming to Carlsbad within the next few days. Would you inform him that I shall be taking the cure here until the beginning of July and would go to Carlsbad at his request at any time?

Once more, good luck for your journey to Rome.

From your kind letter of yesterday I see with regret that you are financially embarrassed again. I am sincerely sorry that I can't place more at your disposal now than I already have.

It would be a different matter if you could achieve something

*definite* for us in Constantinople. Then I could draw amply on our movement's funds for your benefit, and you will believe that I would not lack the heart and the amicable disposition for it.

With cordial regards and sincere devotion,

Herzl.

May 14, Franzensbad

To Suzzara:

My Dear Mr. Section Head:

It will probably be a few weeks before I have patched up my heart a bit here, since it is in need of repair. But as I may now assume a friendly interest in the Zionist cause on your part, I wouldn't want to wait until my return to Vienna to draw your attention to a few things.

Count Goluchowski was kind enough to promise me his assistance if the matter were great enough to warrant concerted action on the part of the Powers. Consequently, Turkey would have to be asked for a settlement area in Palestine and the vicinity large enough for five to six million Jews.

For various reasons Count Goluchowski does not care to place himself at the head of this campaign for the time being.

He would prefer it if the initiative came from England. If some steps were taken by England, Count Goluchowski would fall into line; and I was in a position to show him a secret document from the Russian government, addressed to me, which indicates that Russia too will follow the English initiative. Similarly, the consent of Germany and Italy may already be regarded as assured.

I shall show you, my dear Mr. Section Head, all these confidential documents.

The question now is how the whole thing may be formulated diplomatically. I made the following draft, which met with Count



Goluchowski's approval. Through one of the institutions which we founded some years ago to prepare for this eventuality, the Jewish Colonial Trust of London, a *Land Company*\* with sufficient capital will be created. We are already assured of the participation of leading bankers in England and America in this venture.

This *Land Company*\* undertakes the settlement of the previously mentioned territories, and handles the administration, under the sovereignty of the Sultan.

The *Land Company*\* pays an annual tribute, amount to be determined, to the Turkish treasury and covers itself by collecting the taxes.

Those settled by the *Land Company*\* will become Turkish subjects.

The Holy Places will be declared extraterritorialized.

The Sanjak of Acre is envisioned as the staging area for the settlement.

These, roughly, are the main features.

Since Baron Calice is in Vienna at present, it would probably be of the greatest value to inform him and enlist his active sympathy. Likewise, it would be of the greatest benefit to brief Count Mensdorff now for dealing with Lord Lansdowne where, as far as I gather from his conversations with the Lord, he is likely to find smooth sailing.

I really don't know to what extent I may be bothering you with these suggestions. My excuse is the very friendly reception with which you have gratified and honored me.

Pray accept, my dear Mr. Section Head, the expressions of my deepest respect.

Your devoted servant,  
Th. Herzl.

\* In English in the original.

May 16, Franzensbad.

To Schiff:

Dear Mr. Schiff:

My friend Dr. Katzenelsohn came here from London and told me of the extremely friendly reception you accorded him. Permit me to thank you most warmly for this. Dr. K. also told me that he gave you a copy of my confidential instructions, an action I belatedly sanction, since I have absolute confidence in your discretion.

This entire matter is and must remain secret, particularly as far as the gentlemen of the I.C.A. are concerned. For the present, anything may be expected from this quarter sooner than a readiness to help. Certainly there are some excellent people among the directors of the I.C.A.; but as a body they have hitherto always shown themselves hostile whenever we have suggested truly great measures to meet a truly great need. I don't know why these gentlemen prefer to fritter away the Hirsch money in numerous petty and purposeless undertakings which represent anything but Jewish colonization. If it weren't for the fact that our masses are perishing in misery and filth while a remedy remains unutilized, one might really make humorous reflections about it. E.g.: The greatest enemy of a last will and testament is its executor. Or this: Hirsch's relatives now at least have the satisfaction of knowing that the poor Jews aren't getting anything out of his money either.

Actually, I long ago stopped dwelling on the I.C.A. and its blunders. The gentlemen will come running after us when they are no longer needed.

You are now acquainted with my line of thinking from Dr. K. and by my letter.

[Here the Diary breaks off.]



Dear Mr. Nissen,

I have just received your letter of the 10th inst.

and am glad to hear that you are well.

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